DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 077 316 HE 004 032

AUTHOR	Singleton, Robert; Dawson, Ralph
TITLE	Blacks and Public Higher Education in California.
INSTITUTION	California State Legislature, Sacramento. Joint Committee on the Master Plan for Higher Education.
PUB DATE	Feb 73
NOTE	120p.
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.65 HC-$6.58
DESCRIPTORS	Educational Opportunities; *Equal Education; Ethnic Groups; Governance; Graduate Study; *Higher Education; *Master Plans; *Negro Education; *Negro Students; Statewide Planning; Student Needs
IDENTIFIERS	*California

ABSTRACT

The purpose of the present study was to review the present status of black students in California higher education and to make recommendations for the formulation of the Master Plan for California regarding the access of blacks to higher education, the retention of blacks in higher education, and black graduate education. Some of the recommendations contained within the document are: (1) in all future policy and goals statements, goals and timetables for increased black access to all institutions of higher education; (2) proportional representation should be achieved on all governing boards, by some specific date, for all minority and ethnic groups; (3) a needs assessment study of the major differences between nontraditional black students needs and those of the more traditional student should be undertaken in order to better design needed supportive services; (4) consortia of educational institutions of different levels should be established in order to better articulate the flow of expected levels of preparation of black students; (5) a major study of graduate education as it pertains to blacks in California should be undertaken; and (6) the state should appropriate research funds for issues and research in areas particularly relevant to black and low-income communities in California. (HS)

ED 077316

BLACKS AND PUBLIC HIGHER EDUCATION IN CALIFORNIA

NAIROBI RESEARCH INSTITUTE

HE 004032

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

PREPARED FOR

JOINT COMMITTEE ON THE MASTER PLAN FOR HIGHER EDUCATION
CALIFORNIA LEGISLATURE

FILMED FROM BEST AVAILABLE COPY

ED 077316

BLACKS AND PUBLIC HIGHER EDUCATION IN CALIFORNIA

Nairobi Research Institute

Robert Singleton, Director
Ralph Dawson, Coordinator

Prepared for

JOINT COMMITTEE ON THE MASTER PLAN
FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

California Legislature
Assembly Post Office Box 83
State Capitol
Sacramento, California 95814

Assemblymen	Senators
John Vasconcellos (Chairman)	Howard Way (Vice Chairman)
Willie Brown	Alfred Alquist
Jerry Lewis	Dennis Carpenter
Ken Meade	Mervyn Dymally
John Stull	Albert Rodda

Patrick M. Callan, Consultant
Daniel Friedlander, Assistant Consultant
Sue Powell, Assistant Consultant
Elizabeth Richter, Secretary

February, 1973

This is one of three reports on minority participation - quantitative and qualitative - in California higher education. The papers were commissioned by the California Legislature's Joint Committee on the Master Plan for Higher Education.

The primary purpose of these papers is to give legislators an overview of a given policy area. Most of the papers are directed toward synthesis and analysis of existing information and perspectives rather than the gathering of new data. The authors were asked to raise and explore prominent issues and to suggest policies available to the Legislature in dealing with those issues.

The Joint Committee has not restricted its consultants to discussions and recommendations in those areas which fall exclusively within the scope of legislative responsibility. The authors were encouraged to direct comments to individual institutions, segmental offices, state agencies--or wherever seemed appropriate. It is hoped that these papers will stimulate public, segmental and institutional discussion of the critical issues in postsecondary education.

The opinions expressed in this paper--as in the case of others in the series--are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views and findings of the Joint Committee or its members.

As originally contracted, this paper was to include chapters on "financial aids" and "employment". However, these sections were not completed by the authors.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Summary of Recommendations	i
Black Access to Higher Education by Ralph Dawson	1
Problems of Retention by Dr. Jeffalyn Johnson	27
The Participation of Blacks in Graduate Education by Thomas Rhue and Deborah Daniels	72
Philosophical Overview by Saint Clair Drake	90

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

To understand the recommendations made in this report, it is necessary to know the philosophical position of the writers; their assumptions and rationale. This philosophical position necessitates the redefinition of a number of terms which, in other connotations take on different meanings.

I. Assumptions

It is assumed by the writers that the request for a paper on "Blacks and Higher Education" indicates an awareness by the Joint Committee that the existing system of higher education benefits the white community to a much greater extent than it does the black community, and that a new Master Plan may provide for changes which will, similarly, benefit the white community more so than the black community.

It is also assumed that the admission of differential benefits of the education system and proposed changes, imply further that there are unique black needs in higher education which require the allocation of scarce educational resources to black people, and that the Joint Committee is willing to make such an allocation where it is convinced the unique needs exist.

Lastly, it is assumed that the Joint Committee agrees that the beneficiary of the following recommended changes should be the black community.

In all events, the possibility that educational needs of the black community may differ from the white community's is one of the principal reasons for this report.

II. Rationale

To assert the existence of unique black higher educational needs is indefensible without a convincing rationale. Ours is that the differing needs arise from the often forgotten reality that black and white people in our society live in hopelessly separate communities created and traditionally perpetuated by the white community that has nurtured a black culture which is here to stay. These communities are in different states of economic, social and cultural need.

One of the outstanding sources of the difference in black and white education needs is related to the growing identification of the "black community" with the center city of large urban areas, which are being as rapidly abandoned by white residents. The result is a critical need to assist the new inhabitants of the city in acquiring the skills to control and operate it.

There are many, of course, who attack this position as reverse racism. The suggestion that we equip black people to take over the controls of the city from the white people who now commute in from the suburbs is viewed as a desire to segregate the

races. The fact is, of course, that the races are already segregated, and have been growing more so since this country was founded. The realistic options are not between segregation and integration as we have defined these, but between self-determination and colonial control.

REDEFINITIONS

The relevance of this position to higher education is clear. The topics dealt with in these papers must be read differently from the usual meanings. "Access" in this context must be read as not just getting more black students into college, but getting them in with an awareness of the need their community has for them to acquire those skills which will make possible black control of the city, and the need to care what happens to the quality of life in their community.

"Retention" in this context must be read as not just getting black students to stay in school, but giving them a reason to stay. Lastly, "Advancement to graduate status" in this context is seen as not just specializing in an attractive field, but as specializing in those fields of expertise that the black community desperately needs to improve its quality of life.

Were the quality of life in black America not declining at so rapid a pace, there would be

much less justification for the argument that black higher education be planned with even more deliberation than white higher education. It is the lack of information about the skills needed to improve the quality of life--information that is automatically passed from generation to generation of Whites who have traditionally controlled and managed the city--that requires a more planned approach to black higher education. The following recommendations assume that the most useful role of the Legislature is that of the designer of new incentives which will reduce the incompatibility between black and white higher education needs.

RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING THE ACCESS OF BLACKS TO HIGHER EDUCATION

1. In all future policy and goals statements, it is imperative that the Joint Committee explicitly state its expectations, goals and timetables for increased black access to all institutions of higher education.

Rationale:

Most critics of the hampered black access to higher education reflected in the racial data point to the cultural lag seen in the case of most admissions officers. Despite the significant changes wrought by the combined student rights and civil rights revolutions, most admission officers still see their role as protectors of education from ac-

cess by the masses. In general, they accurately reflect the attitudes of the rest of the organization toward the role of higher education. California's higher education institutions, like all organizations, behave as expected when one examines the incentives and rewards structure that operate on both selective and nonselective levels. The scholastic interpretation of the functions of higher education prohibits any accommodation on the part of the institution to the needs of nontraditional student groups. A more humanistically oriented philosophy of education's purpose in society is being advanced today, however, to which higher education is slowly accommodating. Unfortunately, the incentives and rewards that we would expect under the societal interpretation would still overwhelmingly favor the admission of white students for a host of reasons described by Ralph Dawson in his analysis. Blacks will continue to be screened out, or to be admitted to "special programs" under "exception rules" unless the Joint Committee deliberately takes the next logical step in the process of humanizing access by setting goals for black admissions. Furthermore, the Joint Committee will have to investigate the needed changes in incentives and rewards to make the change more than another "appendage" or "exception" program.

2. Such goals statements should redefine access in order to specify "qualitative" as well as quantitative desiderata of increased black access.

Rationale:

Because the proportion of black high school graduates who go on to postsecondary education is decidedly less than white, the few Blacks who do gain access tend to be much less representative of their ethnic group as a whole than are their white counterparts. One manifestation of this under-representation is the "talent drain" mentioned in the Dawson paper: the effort on the part of Blacks who do obtain access to higher education to become part of the white community. These black "elite" contribute little to the positive development of the black community. It is our contention that a different strata of black college aspirants would more likely come back to the black community to apply their skills there. (Note: this assumes that the Joint Committee agrees with our earlier assumptions that the beneficiaries of higher educational policy should be the black community as a whole, and not just the individual.)

3. A further explicit goal that is recommended is the proportional representation on all governing boards, by some specific date, of all minority ethnic groups.

Rationale:

The current attitude of the higher education system towards increased black access, in terms of both more and blacker students could hardly continue to prevail were there a representative number of black people on the governing boards of higher education institutions. The prevailing attitude of "saving education from the masses" would have to change to one of "changing education to accommodate the masses" if equal proportions of black people, most of whom are at the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder, are to gain equal access.

4. To make these goals explicit and realistic, a needs assessment should be conducted to develop information for the attainability of the goals and timetables.

Rationale:

In this way, too, it can dig for some of the barriers to closing the enrollment gap, the gap between traditional and nontraditional black students, and the possibility for changing the institutions to accommodate black student needs rather than expecting the student to do all the changing.

RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING RETENTION OF BLACKS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

1. The Joint Committee must complete the "unfinished revolution" in higher education by removing the gains of the students' rights and civil rights pressures from the "special" and "exception" categories.

Rationale:

Nontraditional students are retained by the institution to the extent that their needs are anticipated. But, by definition, if they are nontraditional, many of their needs will be unknown to the traditional officers of the university. For this reason, a "special education" function has been established at most institutions with a program for admitting nontraditional students. Unfortunately, no goals were set at these institutions for the "regularizing" of these "special" functions. Thus, they remained as "stepchildren" within the institution, with no future of permanent or equal status. As a result, we witness today's anomalous situation in which equal access to higher education is supposed to be accomplished by second-class programs.

2. A needs assessment study of the major differences between nontraditional black student needs and those of the more traditional student should be undertaken, in order to better design needed

supportive services.

3. A high level position, such as a dean, vice-chancellor, or vice-president of student supportive services should be established at every institution with a program for admitting non-traditional students.

Rationale:

The primary role of such an official would be to regularize the special services now provided the non-traditional student by means of improved personal (psychological) supportive services and improved academic services (see text for distinction).

4. Consortia of educational institutions of different levels--from primary schools to the university--should be established in order to better articulate the flow of expected levels of preparation of black students.

Rationale:

Even after they win access to many institutions, black students find that their preparation was so inadequate that a seeming deliberate void in their development must be filled. The discouragement wrought by this realization is quite often the major factor in low retention. Nevertheless, studies have shown that nontraditional students often have a lower dropout rate than the traditional student.

5. The Joint Committee must design some mechanism for changing the existing incentives and rewards structure which usually tend to penalize those who attempt to provide culturally different experiences for nontraditional students.

Rationale:

This and other even more subtle forms of institutional racism are ingrained in the fabric of the present system to such an extent that an attack on it would be considered overambitious by those who know the problem. Nevertheless, without some effort in this direction, the words "equal opportunity program" will continue to be false adjectives for an inherently unequal program.

RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING BLACK GRADUATE EDUCATION

1. We recommend a major study of graduate education as it pertains to Blacks in California.

Such a study should include the major issues of graduate education as they relate to California and black communities, the educational record in terms of enrollment and numbers and percentages of professionals graduated, the variants in fields, the costs incurred in graduate education and financial aids available, the community expectations of the state and its educational system with regard to its needs, the fiscal implications with respect to dependent communities becoming independent, and re-

commendations to the state Legislature.

2. Expansion of the Graduate Fellowship Program.

The Graduate Fellowship Program should be expanded to include financial need as a criterion for aid. As presently constituted, it refers to academic merit as the primary criterion for state fellowship aid. Many capable students are admitted to a wide variety of graduate schools within the state, schools with varying academic reputations. In many cases, students at these schools are in greater need because the schools are less able to support graduate students.

3. EOP-type program at the graduate level.

There needs to be statewide efforts at coordinating and expanding the limited number of programs to recruit and support black graduate students. The public sector of graduate education, unlike the private sector, has particular responsibility to all taxpayers. EOP-type programs have been responsive to the wide variety of economic communities within the state, all of whom share a tax burden for educating the young.

4. Research money.

The state should appropriate research funds for issues and research in areas particularly relevant to black and low-income communities in California. Research funds are dwindling at a dramatic rate nationally and particularly in social science areas where minority students tend to have greater concentrations than non-minority students.

5. Faculty development.

Given the lack of training in the areas of concern to black students, funds should be appropriated that would be used to encourage the hiring of black faculty who have competency in these much needed areas of study.

6. Post-doctoral fellowships.

Given, as we have said, the embryonic stage of development concerning application of general knowledge to the specific reality of black people, it is important that faculty, particularly junior faculty, be encouraged to develop courses that use the information that is known. Funds should be allocated for post-doctoral fellowships which would provide for the staff, materials, and interaction with black practitioners needed to generate such courses. This is an important step toward providing more meaningful classroom education for graduate and professional students who will work with and in black communities upon completion of their degrees.

BLACK ACCESS TO HIGHER EDUCATION

Purposes of Access

Traditionally college admissions have been determined directly by academic achievement and indirectly by the socioeconomic and cultural status of the student. The latter, indirect determination, developed because colleges and universities used the admission function to screen in those students who reflected the predominant cultural values of the institution. To the extent that those values are correlated with economic and social rank, students from more affluent backgrounds had the best opportunity to gain college admission. A more direct practice on the part of higher education institutions has been that of admitting only those students deemed likely to succeed in terms of academic achievement. Regarding this practic, Alexander Astin of the American Council on Education, states:

> American colleges have pursued the use of meritocratic criteria in admissions so vigorously that the educational mission of the institution has become blurred: "Picking winners" may be appropriate for business and other enterprises that are primarily interested in exploiting talent, but it is an inappropriate model for institutions that exist to influence or change those people who are selected. Thus, the principal purpose of the admissions process should be to select the students who are most likely to benefit from the institution's educational program. Since recent research indicates that the most highly able students are not necessarily those who can be the most changed by the college experience, much more research on the problem of how to identify students with high potential for change is needed.[1]

Astin raises the crucial question of the real purposes served by the selective college admission policies in this country. The essential question is one of what purposes the American colleges serve. Are they institutions to guarantee that those individuals in society who have had all the advantages will secure their success? Or should the colleges serve those individuals "who are most likely to benefit from the institution's educational program?" And, is the role of educational institutions to influence or change those students it serves?

Educators have advanced a variety of philosophies regarding the role of college access and the types of individuals colleges serve. This study sets forth a philosophy that focuses on the needs of black students and their communities. Its theoretical frame of reference rests on the premise that those institutions of higher education that are public institutions, supported by public funds, must serve all of the people in the society. As such, their policies, processes and programs must be designed to meet the needs of the many sectors in our pluralistic society.

Because of this pluralistic society, the needs of its people are diverse and cannot be met by a monolithic approach to education. Therefore, analysis of needs must take into consideration cultural and class differences and thus educational processes

and programs must be designed to satisfy these differing needs.

If public higher education is to truly serve the society and if it is also to foster equality among all citizens, then the philosophical foundation upon which higher educational institutions rest must clearly state these premises. If the Master Plan is, in fact, the blue print for public higher education in California, then it must contain a definitive statement of its goals and objectives. In order for the Master Plan to have any meaningful impact on the admission of Blacks into higher education, it must clearly state that one of its major goals is not only the increase in enrollment of black students but the admission of nontraditional kinds of black students. Nontraditional students, as described by Astin,[2] Flaugher,[3] and L. Barclay,[4] are those students who are generally not in the traditional college bound population due to the fact that they have not been identified as having college potential based on academic grades, entrance test scores, and social-economic status.

If institutions of higher education in California are to become more responsive to the black sector of the state's population, the "mission" of higher education must be better defined as it relates to Blacks. To admit black students to schools that fail to provide them with skills that have a high

value in the black community is "educational genocide". What happens to black students traditionally is that they are processed out of the black community. Thus, a talent drain is developed as white schools with white socioeconomic needs as their motivating force select-out the majority of the black intellectual talent for the white marketplace. One new goal for higher education in California should be greater institutional sensitivity and change that is reflective of the needs and concerns of the overall black population.

The rewards of the middle class society are not necessarily found within the reward system of the black community. Due to institutional racism, many economic and social benefits that are obtainable by college graduates are only available from the white community. Even many skills that are critical to the management of the city are controlled by Whites, and lack of information, nepotism and like barriers exclude black people.

Education has often been defined as the great equalizer of mankind, the leveling device.[5] This function can only occur when the goals of the educational establishment are in concert with each constituency. In the case of the black community in California this is not so. For the most part, the goals of the Master Plan have to date failed to relate to any of the needs of the black community,

primarily because the formation of the plan came from outside the black community. If the goals are to change to the extent that higher education is to become an important factor in improving the life pattern within the black community, then there must be organizational change.

Positive organizational change for Blacks in higher education can only be brought about by direct input by Blacks into the development, design, implementation and evaluation of higher education in California. To insure this input, the Master Plan must clearly state that Blacks and other minorities have the legal right to just representation in those bodies assigned the decision-making and goal-setting tasks in higher education, especially as they relate to access. A mechanism must be designed that brings about change in organizational objectives so as to admit black students, not by quotas but through goals. Said goals should be at a minimum to educate the proportions of black and white high school graduates going on to four-year colleges.

The Role of Governance

Policies that control admission patterns and establish guidelines for entrance to the state supported colleges and universities are developed by the Board of Regents of the University of California and the Board of Trustees of the California State University and Colleges. The governing bodies play

a major role in determining who shall have access to the institutions of higher learning. The Regents and Trustees determine policy that is demonstrative of the characteristics of student population sought by their institutions. Since these bodies play such an important role in policy-making, it is essential that they reflect the views and awareness of needs of all groups in our society.

There is no significant black representation within either policy-making body in California higher education. Presently there is only one black appointed Trustee and no Blacks among the appointed membership of the Regents. Dr. Wilson Riles is both a Regent and Trustee by nature of his office as State Superintendent of Public Instruction. He is the only elected black member of either Board.

If there are no Blacks involved officially in the decision-making process, it is likely that there will be no valuable input of black concerns. In order to provide for the needs of black students and communities, there must be reasonable black participation in the policy-making bodies of the colleges and universities. If California public higher education has as one of its goals to afford full and equal participation to all segments of its population, then there must be black involvement at the decision-making level. Thus, if the public

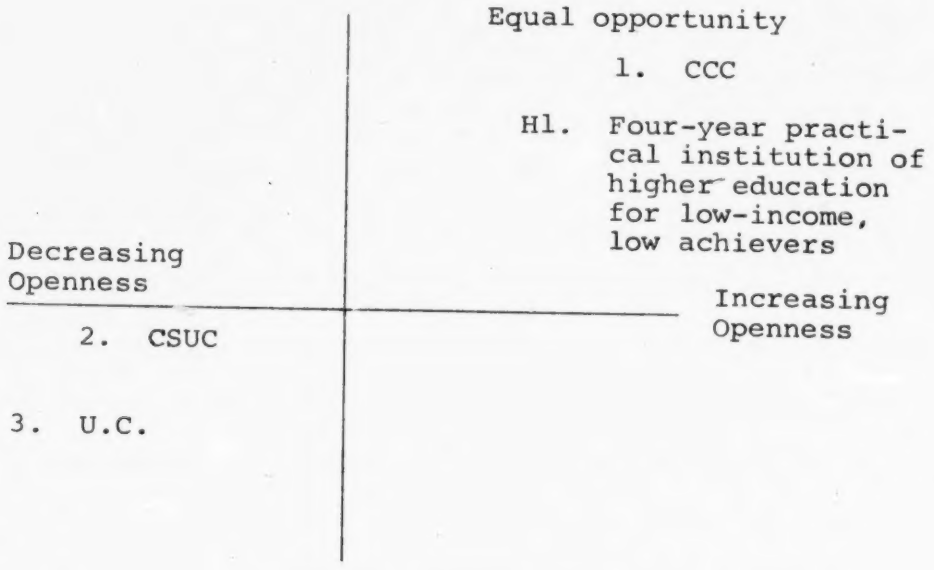
colleges and universities are to function as equalizers of education - and consequently economic opportunities - then open and equal access to these institutions must be a major goal of the Master Plan for Higher Education.

Dimensions of Access

Access can be equal, that is, every Californian having the same opportunity to enter. Or access can be unequal, that is, certain persons would be identified to have a better chance than others for entry.

Access can be open, that is, there would be only a few eligibility requirements (e.g., age, ability to read and write in the English language, California residency) which hopefully would only screen out persons who would not or should not be able to benefit from California's higher education system. Or access can be relatively closed, that is, there would be many eligibility requirements (e.g., GPA, class rank, test scores, recommendations, honors and awards at commencement, high income or wealth--because of high tuition charges--entrance examinations, personal interviews, etc.), which hopefully would only allow access to a very selective group of Californians.

Access can thus be measured along two dimensions yielding the following diagram:



Point 1. Represents the community college system which has a relatively open and equal access admission policy.

Point 2. Represents the California State University and Colleges system which is relatively closed (i.e. highly selective) but is more equal than the University of California.

Point 3. Represents the University of California which has a relatively closed and relatively unequal admission policy.

Point Hl. Is the hypothetical point at which a new institution might fall which meets the

needs of low income, low-achieving Californians who would profit from higher education. Most persons who would be eligible and interested in attending such a school would be persons who somehow did not fit in with the normal schooling progression but nonetheless have both the requisite abilities and desires to further their education.

Almost everyone agrees that there should be equal access to facilities for all who are eligible. However, if our concern is with whom gets entry rather than whether access is equal or not, then we must consider both dimensions simultaneously--on the one hand we are interested in eligibility requirements, and on the other hand we are also concerned about equality.

State Master Plan and Accessibility

What are appropriate eligibility requirements for getting increasing numbers of low-income, "high potential" Californians - specifically urban Blacks and urban and rural Chicanos - registered and enrolled in state supported higher education programs? The answer lies in this--the state initiates, develops, and administers higher education programs as a service tailored to meet the needs of individuals (both private and corporate individuals)

and to provide the state with a body of educated citizens who will be able to direct the state intelligently. The present system is designed so that the group it naturally selects to serves excludes black students and other minorities. It does not select to meet the needs of the citizenry. This is a very serious shortcoming in California's educational system. An educational program, in all ways comparable to the present University of California four-year degree program, can and ought to be developed that applies specifically to Blacks. The eligibility requirements for such a program would screen out high-income, high achievers and welcome low-income, low achievers who would benefit themselves and the state by completing a higher education program. Such a program is advantageous to the state because it avails the state of the services of a vast human resource and fulfills our dream of a multi-cultural society where every person can be a productive citizen.

Until eligibility requirements, both explicit and implied, are developed for low-income black people--they will be excluded from higher education. Under the present conditions black people who fit the traditional admission criteria will be the only Blacks to enter and successfully complete four-year degree programs in California public schools. Special admission programs attempt to change the stu-

dent to fit the university or college mold. Special admission programs ought instead to change the education program to fit potential student needs. This would be positive and progressive, rather than passive and curative. The problem is not students who aren't ready for the program; the problem is that the program is inappropriate for the students. We have been trying to move Mohammed - now it's time to bring the mountain to this fabled man. Our real concern is that higher education and low-income black people stand together.

Alternative (s)

One clear alternative is the status quo - but today we are not succeeding. Low-income Blacks are denied higher education because: (1) the access is relatively closed; (2) or if access is relatively open, access is unequally distributed with low-income Blacks getting the short-end of things; (3) and in some cases the wrong educational product is accessible--that is, many young Blacks do not want two-year vocational training or four-year brainwashing during which time they learn nothing especially useful to their black community. The end product is that the present educational offering does not provide access to an appropriate learning experience for low-income black people.

Below is a description of some of the anomalies that have arisen as a result of the current admission policies.

Community colleges, largely supported by local funds, have provided open access to all Californians over 18 or with a high school diploma. Thus, the first two years of "higher education" are readily accessible to all who desire - with limitations of instructors, space, equipment, and scheduling problems. One would imagine that a large number of low-income black students would find these schools their best chance. 1970-71 figures show that only some 8.4 percent of total community college enrollment is black. This figure might be 13 percent (percentage of black persons in California or even higher).

From a survey of 10 Los Angeles area high schools one can see that many problems of access are related to programs run by the secondary schools. Black students are not preparing themselves to fit the "rigid" entrance requirements of the more selective higher education facilities. See Table 1, Survey of Ten Los Angeles Area High Schools Regarding Higher Education Plans. Black students attending these inner city schools are by and large not even considering higher education as a feasible opportunity for themselves.

TABLE 1

SURVEY OF TEN LOS ANGELES AREA HIGH SCHOOLS
REGARDING HIGHER EDUCATION PLANS

School	Student Enrollment	% Black	% in Col. Prep	% Applying to 4-yr Schools	% Applying to 2-yr Schools
*Washington	2800	98	20	20	40
*Jordan	1876	99	14	12	8
*Manual Arts	2660	98	41	20	40
*Locke	2500	99	35	15	20
*Jefferson	1800	99	36	16	20
*Fremont	2846	99	22	14	25
*Centennial	1500	90	35	15	25
*Dorsey	3000	75	30	40	40
		% Non-Black			
Beverly Hills	2372	99	100	90	n/a
Palisades	2200	99	94	60	30

Source: Data for the black schools came from information maintained by college scholarship counselors, attendance officers and principals. Because of Project Access, a special college counseling program in the city schools (*) there is now better information regarding the follow-up of high school students making application to college. Information for the Anglo schools was provided by the college placement counselors. Palisades High School has the highest percentage in the Los Angeles City School District of students to be accepted to college. Beverly Hills is an independent school district. Centennial is in the Compton Unified School district.

The Office of the Chancellor of the California State University and Colleges has studied the performance of students entering that system with both college preparatory and non-college preparatory high school backgrounds. The conclusion was that there is little difference in overall achievement between the two groups. Perhaps what makes the greatest difference is whether you believe you can or not. Many low-income Blacks, already considering themselves losers, are afraid to compete.

If access is to be facilitated by providing open admissions there must be major policy change mandated, not just for higher education, but also for the secondary schools. As previously stated to the Joint Committee on Higher Education in a report by Dr. K. A. Martyn (Increasing Opportunities for Disadvantaged Students, 1969) the secondary and pre-secondary schools play a major role in the preparation of students for taking advantage of the college experience. Secondary schools in the black community - in conjunction with public institutions of higher education - must structure a better feeder system. There has to be a change in the access model and a higher level of commitment by the colleges and universities to educate more nontraditional-type students. A more functional system of college, high school and community communication must be built. Legislation

is needed to better identify the educational goals of this state as they relate to providing greater access to higher education for all students. All the answers are not at the college and university level, in fact most educational problems start in early childhood. Higher education can best be made more relevant by remodeling all education.

Lack of Accountability

Public education in America, ideally is the vehicle providing the greatest chance for all people to be educated, and thereby insuring greater socioeconomic opportunities.

Public education does not presently provide equal educational opportunities. The quality and the content of public education within California is highly diverse. Because public education is supported and controlled at the local level, educational objectives and goals may vary from city to city or county to county. Within large urban districts the type of education being provided may differ from school to school.

Seldom are schools, teachers and administrators measured in terms of the job they have done; only students are tested. Until such time that there is some uniformity of educational accountability in the secondary schools, there

can not be equal access to postsecondary schools. Students from affluent schools are provided with better tools to compete for slots in public higher education. Students who attend secondary schools with fewer resources suffer not from the lack of individual ability, but from the lack of opportunity to be educated.

For the most part large numbers of minority and economically poor students attend schools of poor quality. A large segment of the black students in California attend overcrowded inner city schools - plagued with problems of limited public support and local apathy. These schools often contribute to the disparity in student achievement. Thus, many black students are never given a real chance at equel access to higher education because they are denied proper preparatory training for higher education.

Often in our society resources that are denoted as public, in fact are only obtainable by the privileged. Therefore, some system of institutional accountability must be designed to secure the opportunity for equal educational preparation of black secondary school students.

Barriers to Access

In systematically viewing the traditional access structure of higher education, there are some rather apparent barriers for all students, and even

more so for black students. Poor preparation is detrimental and the one element that is most difficult to overcome. For many students there is a need for some mechanism to bridge the gap between their abilities and the educational offerings of the colleges and universities. K. P. Cross in The White House Conference on Youth, Access and Accommodation in Higher Education

> "the gap between students abilities and educational offerings can be narrowed by moving education towards learning needs."[6]

Cross further states

> "There are two major tasks--the assurance of equality of access to all levels of education and the accommodation of education to fit the diverse needs of the populace. These two aspects of educational opportunity are inseparable. Access is a hollow victory if education is not meaningful, and development of appropriate quality education is unjustified if some citizens are barred access."[7]

An additional barrier is that of inadequate funding of students and institutions. There is little hope of students being successful in institutions that are underfunded.

Added costs were incurred for counseling and tutorial services provided to special admissions students as a result of E.O.P. The costs are perhaps a result of the fact that the institutions attempted to meet a major educational need by building an appendage. What was done in California amounted to building an out-house for Chicanos

and Blacks, no real institutional change took place. An answer to the funding problem might be to bring more Blacks and other disadvantaged students in through the front door, thus cutting the cost of building artificial substructures.

A new direction is needed in educational finance at all levels. This is the time to rethink how dollars are spent in higher education and to make an attempt to increase the level of effective spending. The nature of modern society demands that we have more educated people. It is, therefore, the responsibility of the public sector of higher education to provide educational resources to all its citizens.

There are numerous other major barriers to higher education for Blacks. Race, in itself, is still a primary factor that prevents many black students from attending college. Racism is still prevalent in institutions. Often prejudice is masked in the form of criteria and economics, yet it lingers on.

James Ridgeway appropriately identifies higher education as "The Closed Corporation." The elitist attitude that education is only for a select group seems to be everpresent. White educators appear to be carrying out the mission as denoted by Booker T. Washington of educating only the talented tenth of the black population at a time when the black community needs as many educated people as

possible. Much literature has been written concerning who shall attend college and how students should be admitted. A great deal of the research has been concerned with the admission process in terms of cultural and ethnic bias as they relate to traditional admission criteria. The major conclusion of most of the works is that the standards are, indeed, the barriers to admission.

In a study at California State University, Los Angeles, various groups of black students were interviewed regarding the college admission experience.

Certain general responses were found to be consistent in all of the groups questioned; i.e. "it's hard to get into college," "no money, no school," "I didn't think I could pass the test," etc. More specifically, we found out students' perceptions of what they considered to be the barriers to college admission:

1. Access blocked in terms of no money for college.
2. Received advice regarding college attendance too late to meet college admission deadlines, college alternative lost.
3. Student had low self-concept, not having college potential, low G.P.A.
4. Failure to take the ACT/SAT or achievement test:
    a. no knowledge of the test
    b. no money or fee waiver
5. No on-going contact with secondary school counselors.

6. Failed to follow college preparatory curriculum, college alternative lost or deferred.

7. High school provided inconsistent class offerings, curriculum splicing.

8. Thought only white kids went to college.

9. Had no knowledge of how to apply or when to apply.

10. Family had no knowledge of how to help youngster get into college.

Summary

Basically, the major barriers to admission appear to be:

1. Requirements that are inconsistent with secondary school preparation. Colleges and universities provide education only for those students who have previously demonstrated talent, as denoted by high school GPA and achievement test scores;

2. No knowledge of the admission process and application procedures. Students must rely upon the colleges or the secondary school to provide the correct information about college admissions, and to make information available in ample time to allow for completion of the application process;

3. Financial support for college. Large numbers of students, Blacks and others, do not have sufficient financial support

to pay for college attendance;

4. Low self-image. Low self-image plays a major role in deterring black students from attending college. There is recurrent negative reinforcement throughout the early school experience and no real positive image support generated by the natural support mechanisms, i.e. absence of Blacks in school textbooks, in public media, college faculty, etc.; and
5. Recruitment. Failure of many colleges and universities to actively recruit at predominantly black schools or send college recruitment people to the high school, or have groups of students visit the campus. "Programs of minority enrollment are often voluntary with one-fourth of midwestern schools stating that they had not given the question of minority admission systematic attention."[8]

Population Data

Considering the highly selective nature of the college admission process, today, as in the past, there are disproportionately few Blacks enrolled in higher education when compared to the black college-age population. Nationally and in California, black students represent approximately twelve percent of the college-age population. Enrollment of black college students is estimated

at about only 4.5 percent of the total college enrollment. The widespread de facto segregation in predominantly white institutions of higher education, and the lack of real commitment on the part of colleges and universities to enroll minority students has contributed to the absence of black students. "Many colleges and universities instituted special programs for the admission of black and other minorities; still the proportion of black freshmen enrolled in more than half of the institutions in the country was less than two percent."[9]

Blacks in California raise anxious questions about the admission practices of the state supported four-year schools. Crucial concerns are expressed regarding the rationale behind the admission practices and the dissemination of information relevant to college admissions. The task here is to identify those areas of concern, and suggest to the Joint Committee meaningful alternatives that might enhance chances for futher admissions of Blacks. By examining the current level of black enrollment at the University of California and California State University and Colleges some insight might be gained.

California's Statistics

Blacks represent approximately 12.5 percent of the population of the state of California and only 7.3 percent of the senior class enrollment in secondary schools during Fall 1971. Furthermore, Blacks represent a mere 3.6 percent of the student population of the University of California and only 4.8 percent at the California State University and Colleges. Whites represent 67 percent of the state's population and 76.9 percent of the senior class in California high schools. Whites account for 85 percent of the students at the University of California and 84 percent at the California State University and Colleges. This data suggests an overall absence of Blacks in higher education. (See Table 2.) "In a cross section of 80 public supported institutions in this country that are predominantly white, less than two of every one hundred students are black; less than one of every one hundred seniors is Black; and perhaps one in every one hundred faculty member is Black."[10]

Perceptions

Students themselves identify difficulty in obtaining accurate college information as a major barrier to admission. When black students were questioned regarding college admission, the overwhelming response showed that many were ill in-

TABLE 2

STATISTICS RE: MINORITIES IN
HIGHER EDUCATION--STATE OF CALIFORNIA 1970-71

Minority Population Representation in California

16.0% Chicano
12.5% Black
2.5% Asian
1.3% Indian

Senior Class Statistics

	Fall 1971 Grade 12	
Indians	1,120	.4%
Black	21,481	7.3%
Oriental	7,236	2.5%
Chicano	35,766	12.1%
Other Non-white	2,518	.9%
White	226,697	76.9%
Total	294,818	
Spring 1971 Total-------	247,999	

	Fall 1970 Grade 12	
Indians	914	.3%
Black	19,802	7.0%
Oriental	6,750	2.4%
Chicano	32,186	11.4%
Other non-white	1,752	1.6%
White	220,853	78.2%
Total	282,259	

TABLE 2 (continued)

Minority Population in College in California

	EOP	TOTAL	TOTAL POPULATION
1970-71 U.C.	5,221	11,286	76,133
1970-71 CSUC	8,428	24,589	152,777
1970-71 Private (AICCU)			117,400
1970-71 CCC		75,287	339,991

Ethnic Breakdown of Minorities in College in California

	1970-71 U.C.*	CSUC ≠	
Black	3.6%	7,317	4.8%
Chicano	3.2%	8,248	5.4%
Asian	7.3%	7,562	5.0%
Indian	0.6%	1,462	1.0%
Caucasian	82.5%	128,188	83.9%

	1969 Private	Community Colleges/x/	
Black	5.0%	28,599	8.4%
Chicano	3.0%	26,817	7.9%
Asian	3.0%	11,474	3.4%
Indian	0.2%	4,115	1.2%
Caucasian	88.0%	264,704	77.9%
Other non-white		4,282	1.3%
Total Minority		75,287	22.1%

*Office of the President, University of Calif. 1-12-72
≠HEW Compliance Report, California State University and Colleges, 1971
/x/Office of the Chancellor, California Community Colleges, May 1, 1972

formed and, thus, ill equipped to deal with the college admission practices.

Conclusion

What may, perhaps, be the overall indictment is failure to communicate on the part of the institutions of higher learning, on the part of the secondary schools, and on the part of the families of many students. To hold the student responsible, in part, is realistic only to a degree--the student is victimized by a system of societal dependencies wherein his major providers have short-circuited the lines of communication. When the colleges and universities make no attempt to reach the student, for the purpose of providing admissions information until his eleventh grade year - it, for the most part, is too late for the majority of black students. In cases where the secondary school provides little or no real college admissions counseling, the student is not truly afforded the college alternative. Where families have not been in the schools with their children - working to aid the student and gain a complete understanding of the educational process - the child is left to drift into whatever he or she finds to be available.

In recommendations as early as 1966 to the Joint Committee on Higher Education it was suggested that access for all students can only be

increased by a comprehensive program bringing together institutions of higher learning, secondary schools, and the people of the community. For the most part, this is the system used by Whites who participate in higher education. Because of the level of family education and direct family/school involvement within white middle-class communities, there is established an ongoing network of educational information.

A significant factor in improving equal educational opportunity is control of schools. In the white middle and upper class communities, the parents and community play a major role in school control. White people control white schools; black people do not control schools within their own community. In fact, Blacks control few if any of the institutions within the black community.

So strong is the effort of white communities to prepare their students for higher education that they over prepare students. Many white students move directly from high school into college without having a reason or need for higher education. Because college is so available to Whites, many attend because of availability and parental expectation. For many middle and upper class white youths college is the only alternative offered them by design--the local high school only

has a college preparatory curriculum. By contrast many black students attend schools where college preparatory courses are the exception, not the rule. The control of educational resources plays a major role in who will or will not attend college.

The profile of black Americans has been very low in higher education. In California, Blacks do not exercise any significant control in higher education, nor do they have much input into educational policy-making. Black students represent only a fraction of the total college enrollment and the black community receives only a minimal return on tax dollars invested in higher education.

Considering the factors identified in this paper and the complex nature of modern society - with its high demand for better educated citizens - the following recommendations are submitted to the Joint Committee on the Master Plan for Higher Education.

1. The function of education should be defined in a way that is responsive to the needs of the black community; this can only be accomplished by mandating black participation in the policy-making process of higher education.
2. The scholastic interpretation and the societal interpretation of educational objectives must be better defined in the

Master Plan; schools must help prepare students to take their rightful place in society.

3. Mechanisms must be investigated that might lead to greater enrollment of black students in higher education.
4. Access must mean opportunity and availability in terms of criteria change, financial assistance, and curriculum relevance.

Footnotes

1. Alexander Astin, Racial Considerations in Admissions (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1969).

2. Ibid.

3. Ronald Flaugher, Project Access Research Report No. 2 Patterns of Test Performance by High School Students of Four Ethnic Identities (Princeton, New Jersey: Educational Testing Service, May, 1971).

4. Lawrence Barclay, Statement to Minority Conconsultants (New York: College Entrance Examination Board, Spring 1972).

5. Thomas Jefferson, Fourth of July Speech, 1778.

6. K. P. Cross, Access and Accommodation in Higher Education. The White House Conference on Youth, Center for Research and Development in Higher Education.

7. Ibid.

8. W. W. Willingham, Admissions and Minority Students in Midwestern Colleges (New York: College Entrance Examination Board, May, 1970).

9. Ibid.

10. J. Egerton, State Universities and Black Americans (Atlanta: Southern Education Reporting Service, 1969).

PROBLEMS OF RETENTION

Introduction

The progress of students through the academic process in higher education institutions is one of the most complex of the problems facing these institutions today. It is one thing to adopt "open admissions" policies for students, but it is quite another matter to facilitate the continuation of these students in academic programs. Thus, academic progress is as important, if not more important, than relaxed admissions standards. The "revolving door" effect of admission, probation, then expulsion has a devastating effect on the self esteem of the student, even though the problem may rest with inferior elementary and secondary education and not the ability of the student.

Edmund Gordon of Columbia University points out that, "one of the traditional roles of education has been to broaden opportunities for productive, influential, and rewarding participation in the affairs of the society by developing those skills and entry credentials necessary for economic survival and social satisfaction." (Gordon, 1972, p. 423) In a democratic society the public institutions exist for the benefit of all members of the society. Therefore, as Gordon indicates,

if the purpose of education is to broaden opportunities for meaningful participation in the society through the development of necessary skills and credentials, then education opportunity is unequal unless it serves that purpose for all learners. Gordon emphasizes the fact that at any point in the history of a society, the minimum educational goals are defined by the prerequisites for meaningful participation and for economic, social and political survival.

The traditional philosophical rationale for public education maintains that it is in the public interest to have an educated and skilled citizenry. It is society itself that reaps the major benefits from the education of its members. If this is true of one group, it must also be applied to all groups in a democratic society. Therefore, it is in the interest of society - both from the standpoint of the development of skilled human resources and the reduction of social costs of welfare, crime, and social unrest - to educate all of its citizens. Thus, educational institutions must provide equal education for black and white populations.

The Carnegie Commission (1970) stated, "that a commitment to adequate support for better educational systems, to comprehensive student aid, and to removing the consequences of discrimination is truly basic to the nation's future. The

greatest asset of any nation is its people." (p. 29)

This report rests upon the premise that public institutions of higher education have a primary responsibility to provide black students with the opportunity to develop the necessary skills and credentials for economic, social, and political survival. In addition, since racism has functioned in this nation in a manner that has resulted in segregated black communities, then the public education institutions have a responsibility to develop individuals with the kinds of skills that will guarantee the economic, social and political survival of black communities. The Kerner Commission clearly indicated that, "white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white institutions condone it." (Kerner Commission, 1968, p. 2) It is the position of the writers of this report that white institutions in general, and education institutions in particular, must provide functional programs to facilitate the economic, social and political survival of the members of black communities. Equality of educational opportunity is seen as the major strategy for the accomplishment of this goal.

Equality of educational opportunity for higher education must not be defined merely as equal access to higher education. Any analysis of, and

strategies to overcome the disparity in educational opportunities between Blacks and Whites must not be limited to the mere opening of doors to higher education institutions. They must include the more important objective of guaranteeing the successful completion of an academic program. Thus, retention becomes the crucial strategy for the elimination of the disparity in the quality and quantity of education between Blacks and Whites.

Black communities cannot survive with its young people obtaining degrees but no survival skills or understanding of how the infrastructure of this nation functions. The types of skills needed by black students are, in part, different from those of the majority of white students. Because black communities tend to be more analogous with developing nations than the post-industrial white America, black students need a curriculum that provides knowledge and skills applicable to community development in addition to the regular curriculum oriented for a technological society. If black students are to be prepared to serve black communities, they must be given the training and skills that meet the unique needs of these communities.

The Newman Report (1971) acknowledges the dif-

ferences between the black and white communities. It states, "if the national experiment in minority education is to be valid - and if it is to make further progress - educators must begin to understand what it means to be a minority student. Differences in cultural background are becoming more apparent (and may even be getting wider as more "high-risk" students enter), and recognition of these realities is mandatory if we are to respond intelligently to what minority students need." (p. 49)

Thus, the writers of this report take the position that access, retention, and graduation of black students do not alone fulfill the traditionally stated purpose of education. This philosophical frame of reference places a greater responsibility upon the institutions of higher education to provide not only for increased admissions of black students, greater supportive services, but more importantly, fundamental curriculum changes to meet the specialized needs of black communities. Retention is redefined to include not only retaining the student in the academic process as it is currently structured, but the restructuring of the curriculum so that the student can acquire the skills and knowledge crucial to the survival of the community from which he came.

The argument rests upon the reality of the existence of separate and distinct black communities as described by the Kerner Commission, William Tabb (1970), Kenneth Clark (1965) and others.

Closely related to the importance of the types of skills and knowledge acquired by black students is the problems of over-retention of black students beyond the two-year schedule of the community college and the four-year college schedule. That is, students who remain in the academic process beyond the designated two- or four- year period for the primary purpose of maintaining a grade point average or to acquire an accumulation of units rather than to meet degree requirements can not be considered as evidence of successful retention. Successful retention must be measured by the student's progress toward the goal of graduation and the acquisition of needed skills and knowledge for service in black communities rather than the traditional view of preparation of students for the purposes of the majority community. It must be clearly established that selection of courses for the sole purpose of retention has contributed to the disappointment, frustration, anger and alienation of students who find themselves putting in time at an institution but failing to accomplish the objective of a degree. These situations result in poor utilization of human and financial resources and lead to negative attitudes toward

the institution and lowered self-esteem for students.

Review of the Literature on Retention

There have been no studies on the retention of black students based on the premise that institutions of higher education should provide black students with the skills and knowledge for the survival of black communities. That is, there has been no study using the criteria of acquisition of community development skills and knowledge as the means of measuring the academic progress. There is an urgent need for this type of study.

Newman Report (1971):

The literature based on the traditional methods of measuring retention is scarce and incomplete. The admission of greater numbers of non-traditional black students is so recent that the earliest graduating class containing a considerable number of these students was June of 1972. However, the Newman Report does indicate that data on the academic achievement of Blacks - as measured by grades and persistence rates - are even more fragmentary and conflicting than those on access. The report points out that most of the evidence available from various colleges shows that the average grades of Blacks are somewhat lower than the average grades of all students. However, there is some limited evidence that Blacks who persist in

their studies perform somewhat better in college than would have been predicted on the basis of measurements of high school grades and scores on the Scholastic Aptitude Test. The report concludes that, on the whole, large numbers of black students can perform close to the existing standards at all types of colleges and universities. With well-run special programs, high-risk students are more likely to stay in college. However, they caution that while persistence rates for Blacks at many institutions will approach the average for all students, dropout rates remain discouragingly high and grades will likely continue to be lower at the least selective colleges.

Carnegie Commission on Higher Education (1970):

The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education recommended more individualized placement and programs for minority students. They suggest a "foundation year" in which students are given intensive counseling and wide latitude to find a program that fits their interests and needs. This foundation year could be tailored to more rapid, less rapid, or customary progress depending on the past training and ability of the individual students. The Commission favors a limit to the amount of time a student should engage in remedial work.

The problems of retention related to the nature of the institution are discussed in the report A Chance to Learn. It suggests that "as higher education increases its effort to overcome deprivation of educational opportunity, evidence grows that these efforts require a transformation of higher education's own often unbalanced academic and cultural environment. As institutions succeed in bringing an increase of minority-group students and staff to their campuses, these groups will require special understanding and institutional support." The Commission points out that "in recent years, attempts of colleges and universities to end discrimination or ethnocentrism have led to difficulties. Yet many of the indictments brought by minority students and faculty members are valid, and require adequate responses".

One of the most important recommendations of the Carnegie Commission was its endorsement of greater efforts by institutions of higher education to apply their research, consulting and teaching skills to the problems of the surrounding neighborhoods and the people who live within them. The writers of this report maintain that service to the community must also include the black community.

Access Problem: Transfer to the Upper Division

Warren Willingham, in a study of transfers from community colleges to upper division, points out that access and retention are complementary aspects of the same process. Retention through one educational phase permits access to the next. Willingham identifies the three main transition points as (1) initial access to the community college, (2) transfer to the senior institution and (3) retention to graduation at the BA level. He stresses that at each point the major concerns are whether the rate of transition is reasonable and whether the representation of different types of students, particularly minority, is equitable.

Willingham's survey of the literature on access and retention resulted in his identification of the major problems as curriculum, articulation, guidance, orientation, admission procedures, academic standards, credits, space and financial aid. His analysis led him to two general conclusions--one positive and one negative. On the positive side there is evidence that the junior colleges are successfully training large numbers of transfer students if one uses the traditional methods of measuring success. These students are gaining admission and succeeding in increasing numbers. The future of transfer articulation is described by the report as optimistic. However, on the negative side, the report states that important

transfer problems are being ignored. Transfer articulation is the number two access problem, and is definitely second-rate in the attention it receives from educators, researchers and policy-makers. Since transfer articulation becomes a problem of student retention in higher education, Willingham's research has relevance for our review of retention.

Educational Opportunity Programs in California Public Higher Education (1969-70):

The study by the Coordinating Council for Higher Education has relevant, but also incomplete, data on retention of minority students. In its evaluation of the impact of Educational Opportunity Programs on the retention of minority students, it draws some tentative but encouraging conclusions.

A. At the community college level:

1. The supporting services that had the greatest impact on the retention of EOP students were recruitment, financial aid, tutoring, and peer counseling.

2. Tutorial and peer counseling appeared to be the most promising and helpful components. It was in these areas that innovation and imagination were most evident.

3. The retention rate at completion of spring semester for EOP students was a remarkable 85 percent as compared to a 50 percent retention rate for regular students.

4. The overall mean grade-point average for EOP students was 2.27 in the spring semester.

B. At the California State University of and Colleges:

1. The median GPA for all EOP students was 2.34 for 1969-70, while the median number of units completed during the year was 23.5. Two-thirds of all EOP students successfully completed 20 or more units.

2. Nearly 71 percent of EOP students who did not meet regular admissions requirements earned better than a "C" average during the 1969-70 year, and 16.7 percent earned a "B" or better average. Of those admitted as first-time freshmen, 67 percent earned a "C" or better average, and 14.8 percent earned a "B" or better average. Of those admitted as transfers, 74.8 percent earned a "C" or better aver-

age, and 18.3 percent earned a "B" or better average.

3. The retention figures indicate success in that 81.4 percent of EOP students are still enrolled after completing two years in good academic standing. 87.6 percent completed the 1969-70 year; 24.5 percent completed the year on probation; 7 percent were disqualified during the year; and 11.7 percent did not finish the year.

While the data on the success of special programs for the retention of high-risk students is incomplete, it does indicate a degree of success as measured by traditional methods. For the purposes of this study, it is important to emphasize that there are no studies that measure success based on the criteria of preparation for service in the black community.

Problems of Retention

While problems of retention and academic progress affect all college students, in general, they are significantly greater for black than for white students - due to the nature of the institutions and social, economic, and psychological factors. Many Blacks bring with them to the college environment the handicaps of inferior elementary and secondary education, self-concepts lowered by experiences

with racism and academic failure, few financial resources, and little understanding of the bureaucratic and institutional processes inherent in colleges and universities.

This study seeks to explore the problems of retention and academic progress of black students on two- and four- year college campuses. The study focuses on the relevance of the college experience for black students as the motivator for remaining in the academic process. Relevance is examined from the perspective of the individual - for his occupational or professional training and for service in the growth and development of black communities.

The problems of retention and progress are divided into two categories: (1) those that relate to the personal life of the individual, and (2) those that relate to the nature of institutions of higher education.

The problems relating to the personal life of students that threaten retention and progress are: (1) academic experiences and skill needs, (2) financial assistance needs, (3) family needs and problems, (4) psychological needs, and (5) social and cultural needs.

The very nature of institutions of higher education create problems that seriously affect the retention and progress of students. These may be cate-

gorized as barriers created by: (1) the bureaucratic structure and institutionalized procedures, (2) the relevance of the curriculum, (3) the effects of institutional racism, (4) the barriers created by staff, faculty and administrators, and (5) the relationship of black students to other groups of students.

The Relevance of the College Experience

The black student shares, in part, the white student's perspective of the relevance of college to his future. They both realize that the "college diploma" has become a virtual "union card" for social and economic advancement. It is considered almost an essential prerequisite for the kinds of employment, affluence, status latitude and independence that are commonly subsumed under the designation "middle class" or "upper middle class" (Egerton, 1969, p. 93). Whites attend college with the understanding that "union" membership is open to them once they obtain the "union card". However, many black students attend predominantly white colleges with the hope that the diploma will get them into the mainstream or "union", only to discover that often the diploma does not allow them to gain access to a "closed shop". As a result, black students tend to see college as a social and economic mobility within the confines of

certain "open for black" occupations and professions. Thus, relevance for black students functions in a narrower scope of academic endeavors.

The individual black student often views the college diploma as a means out of the ghetto or rural area and as a means for personal achievement. He tends to view college from a more occupational or professional orientation than does the average white student. He sees his economic survival and well-being more closely related to a college education than does the white student (who has greater opportunities for social and economic mobility without a college education). Thus, college becomes primarily a training institution for the black student by providing him with the proper certification for employment.

The relevance of college as a means for economic security in the future differs for Blacks and Whites. Blacks with educations comparable to Whites will make less than Whites during their lifetime. In 1968, a black high school graduate earned less on the average ($5,801) than a white male who had completed only grade school ($6,452), and a black who had completed four or more years of college earned less than a white who had completed only high school (Borland and Yett, 1967). In spite of Blacks' great desire to attend college and their expectations of improved status as the result of a college education, the end result is

not equity and parity, but further disprivilege and disparity (Commission on Campus Unrest, 1970, p. 107).

A growing number of black students see the relevance of college not only in terms of individual gains but also as a means for the growth and development of black communities. The Report of the President's Commission on Campus Unrest points out:

> the critical importance of higher education for Blacks in their struggle for social justice is revealed by the fact that almost all recent surveys indicate that "getting an education" or "going to college" is given the first priority as the surest and most secure route for changing the economic, social, political, and cultural status of Blacks in the society (p. 105).

Today, many black college students are not interested in becoming a part of the system but, instead, are determined to change it. They are rejecting social status and mobility in white society and are striving for relevant education for service to the black community. Many black youths from the urban working class have definite ties and commitments to their people. They resent the idea of obtaining a college degree as a means to escape the black community. Thus, some black youths are beginning to question the legitimacy and validity of white normative values and higher education. The curriculum of most higher education institutions does not provide the type of skills

and knowledge that will most benefit the unique needs of black communities. Black students frequently seek other sources for the acquisition of these skills and knowledge. When this takes place, the institution of higher education has failed to fulfill its purpose to serve all its students.

The orientation of white society seriously impairs the successful retention of black students. The Newman Report discusses the dilemna facing black students in college.

> Historically upwardly mobile groups have looked to educational institutions as the principal avenue of social mobility--and the generalization holds for today's minority students in their attitude toward college access. In addition, minority students as a group aspire to more years of education than do Whites. Today, when college is more important to mobility than ever before, and when family pressures to succeed are so intense, this force on minority students is a crucial factor in minority education.
>
> What distinguishes minority students from other groups that have used higher education as an avenue of mobility is that doday's minorities can never really leave their communities. "Going to college" has always carried with it a measure of "you can't go home again"; but today's minorities have to live with the converse--that you can't leave your ethnic or racial identity behind.
>
> This conflict of being caught between two cultures--that of the ethnic and racial community on the one hand and that of the national social structure on the other--forms the basic dilemna of minority education in contemporary American society. (p. 49)

Still another group of black students sees the relevance of the college experience - and even more important the degree - as a means for both personal security and as an opportunity to bring knowledge and skills back to their communities. These black students are committed to use their professional skills in black, rather white, communities.

Problems of Retention Related to the Individual Student.

The problems that affect the retention and progress of students in higher education have become more complex as open admissions programs have resulted in greater diversification in the student population. The Carnegie Commission points out that students come to college campuses with varied backgrounds and interests. Too often they are funneled into a prescribed curriculum and expected to proceed at a prescribed rate. The Commission feels that colleges should provide students with more individualized placement and programs so that they can work according to their own individual preparation, maturation, work schedules, and educational objective. (Carnegie Commission, 1970, p. 13) As noted by the Commission, the problems of retention must take into consideration the unique preparation and needs of each student.

A survey by this researcher of black students on five colleges, two-and four-year, resulted in findings that ranked the problems originating with the individual in the following order of importance:

1. Academic Experience and Skill Needs
2. Financial Assistance Needs
3. Family Needs and Problems
4. Psychological Needs
5. Social and Cultural Needs

Academic Experience and Skill Needs

The problem most often indicated in the survey as the prime threat to student retention and progress was the lack of academic experiences and skills that would prepare the student to successfully compete in the academic environment. This problem was cited by students who came into college on regular admissions as often as it was cited by so-called "high-risk" students. Both groups blamed inferior secondary education.

Many of the regular admissions students indicated that they were unaware, until competing in college, of the disparity between the kinds of academic experiences and skills students from middle and upper class suburban schools had gained and those they had acquired in black urban schools. These students expressed surprise, that even though their G.P.A.'s were comparable to suburban Whites,

their educational experiences and skills were not.

Most of the students in the survey felt that academic experiences and skills are the most crucial need of black students. Programs and supportive services designed to develop academic skills are inadequate to close the disparity gap. Thus, many black students enter college with academic skills deficiencies and must struggle throughout the academic process to both compete with better prepared white students and work towards acquiring the needed skills. The majority of the students in the survey felt that with strong academic experiences and skills they would have time to work to finance their education and would have the strong self-concept needed to solve some of the other problems.

Financial Assistance Needs

Financial assistance needs may result from the inability of many black students to handle the academic load and work their way through school. The costs of higher education at private colleges and universities and the University of California preclude most students from earning the entire amount of their tuition, books, and living expenses while attending college.

The disparity between earning power of Blacks and Whites means that fewer black parents can af-

ford to pay for or contribute significantly to the education of their children. Among the working poor and poverty families the problem is compounded by the need to have the college age members of the family working and contributing to the family income.

The numbers and types of black students who enroll in colleges and universities are directly related to the amount of financial assistance available to black students from sources other than parents.

Many students expressed the view that the amount and certainty of financial assistance was inadequate to relieve them of the financial worries that constantly undermined their academic efforts. Still another concern was the fact that a portion of the financial assistance was in the form of loans, which meant that the student might graduate from college heavily in debt and with little assurance of employment or salary sufficiently ample for repayment.

Family Needs and Problems

Whether a black student is able to attend college is often dependent on his family's ability to get along without him. Black sons and daughters are frequently needed to work in order to supplement the family income as well as to assist a mother, who is often head of the household, with

the care of the children in the home. Many black families make not only financial sacrifices but suffer a loss of physical help when they release their youth to attend college. Among the students surveyed, one-tenth stated that there is a constant threat that their working mothers will become ill. They would then have to drop out of school to assume family responsibilities. Another family problem that serves as a barrier to college enrollment and retention is the anti-intellectual values that are held by some black parents who see a college education as either irrelevant or unattainable. Often these attitudes toward college attendance are the result of the personal experiences of parents and their friends who struggled for a college education only to have employment opportunities withheld due to racial discrimination. Generally, these values are inculcated in the children of parents who have these attitudes so that the child is not motivated to acquire the skills and knowledge that would qualify him for college attendance. Thus, among the students who have come to accept these values, there is a high probability that when faced with problems they will consider the college experience as irrelevant or unattainable.

Often, for the black student to remain in college he must feel that he has the support of his family and that the sacrifice of deferred

earnings is offset by the value of a college education. There is a strong tendency among low-income and poverty level black students to give careful consideration to the needs of their families in any decision they make about their individual desires for a college education. Because day to day physical survival is a major concern among poverty level families, their members are drawn closer together in supportive roles than is generally the case with middle class black families.

Psychological Needs

The psychological state of the black student is an important variable in the complex problem of retention and academic progress. Harper points out that,

> Similar to white students and other white campus persons, black students must find healthy means of satisfying their basic physiological needs, safety needs, needs for love and belongingness, needs for esteem or pride, and needs for self-actualization or self-growth and development. Although many white students may currently find frustrations in satisfying various human needs, for black students satisfaction is even more difficult to attain. (Harper, 1971, p. 257)

The black student who has been raised and educated in a predominantly, if not all, black environment experiences a degree of cultural shock when he finds himself in a white and often hostile milieu.

The impact of a white academic environment is described by Harper as he notes the devastating effect it can have on black students.

> Black students are no different from other students in respect to their needs for esteem in the eyes of themselves and their peers. More than any other ethnic group, the campus has made it difficult for black students to satisfy their needs for esteem and self-pride. It is no secret that the university curriculum has been ethnocentric and whitewashed with citations of American heroism and European culture. To black students such a curriculum founded on Western civilization has posed a threat to self-pride and ethnic identity. Black students have recognized the ill effects of the dominant culture on the self-hatred and the negative self-concept of black behavior. (Harper, 1971, p. 258)

Numerous studies have indicated that a close relationship exists between the student's perception of self and his level of academic achievement. Further, it is generally accepted that expectations of significant others, especially those of teachers, exert considerable influence on the student's performance and his self-concept (Coffin, Dietz, and Thompson, 1971, p. 366). Students whose teachers, parents, and significant others expect them to achieve tend to fulfill those expectations. These high achievers tend to hold more positive attitudes toward their teachers, the school, and their personal competencies. Thus, academic success strengthens the student's self-esteem and self-concept. Aspy (1971) found that negative experiences are the means through which

a person learns to dislike himself. Conversely, the opposite seems to be true. Good self-concepts result from positive experiences. Fink (1962) found a significant relationship between low self-concept and academic underachievement, and that this relationship appears stronger in males than females.

Because self-concept relates significantly to academic performance, it is important that failures in college do not occur to reinforce previous failures in secondary education among "high-risk" or marginal students. Thus, the importance of acquiring academic experiences and skills becomes ever clearer as we see their direct relationship to the psychological needs of individuals in general, and black students in particular.

A significant number of the students surveyed for this paper indicated that a failing grade or a negative statement from a professor resulted in depression and self-doubt. This served as a barrier to further academic efforts. They stated the fears of failure and the frustration of academic skills deficiencies had a great psychological effect upon them than any other problem they faced.

The psychological problems that black students face are varied. While some stem from academic deficiencies and failures, others are at-

tributable to the fact that they are black in a white racist environment. The black student often finds himself surrounded by Whites who either tolerate him or treat him as though he were invisible. Harper (1971) describes the black students' plight by pointing out that,

> true education is a growth of the whole person, a social and emotional growth beyond the cognitive development of the classroom. In addition to the stress of the average student, the black student suffers psychological frustrations and sociological pressures due to his ethnicity. Such disadvantages often make it difficult or impossible for black students to learn, to self-actualize, and to develop their inherent potential. Just the opposite, these handicaps can sometimes be challenging and growth producing although painful. Growth for the black student many times comes at the price of loneliness, depression, alienation, anger, doubt, frustration, anxiety, and despair (Harper, 1971, p. 258).

Social and Cultural Needs

The black student from a predominantly black background of experiences finds the white college campus a somewhat foreign and hostile environment. Willie and McCord (1972) state that,

> the black experience at a white college is isolation and rejection if Blacks depend on Whites only. Blacks, like other students need individual groups, and institutions to turn to for solace and support. Since support from Whites is not dependable, Blacks increasingly are turning toward themselves. They are not risking friendships with Whites, which they often find fragile and unstable.
> (Willie and McCord, 1972, p. 15)

The experiences of some black students on predominantly white campuses suggest that the so-called advantages of getting an education at a superior institution of higher education are often negated by a frustrating sense of social and cultural isolation. This produces anger and alienation. (Muehl, 1972). The withdrawal of Blacks from participation in white campus groups and activities is an effort at protecting themselves from receiving white hostility and rejection.

It has been suggested that white colleges enrolling less than a few hundred Blacks are guilty of condemning a small number of Blacks to an inadequate social life. The quality of campus social life for Blacks is directly related to the number of black students enrolled and not the ratio of black and white students. The ratio of black male students to black female students is an important factor in meeting social needs. On campuses where the black female students outnumber the black male students, the females have very few opportunities for dating and are limited to social activities involving other females. In a study by Willie and McCord (1972) it was found that of the black women on white college campuses, 71 percent dated only Blacks. The proportion of black men who interracially date is twice as great as that for black women, a factor that further limits

the opportunities for black females to date. Black men seem to have greater access to companionship and social activities. Thus, black women have more difficulty in adapting to white college campuses.

Retention Problems Related to the Nature of the Institution

Institutionally related problems of retention and progress may be categorized as:

1. Those created by the bureaucratic structure.
2. Those related to the relevance/irrelevance of the curriculum.
3. The effects of institutional racism.
4. Those created by staff, faculty and administrators.
5. The ralationship of black students with other groups of students.

Problems Created by the Bureaucratic Structure and Institutionalized Procedures

The bureaucratic hierarchical structure with its institutionalized procedures has resulted in an image of a rigid, impersonal, irrelevant, racist and isolated institution. Egerton (1969) describes some of the problems that relate to the nature of the institution as,

> the neglect of undergraduate teaching, the equating of excellence and prestige with elitism and exclusiveness, the pursuit of research grants, the dominance of research and graduate studies, bureaucratic impersonality, the feudalism and fragmentation of academic departments, the arbitrariness of certification and credentialling systems, in loco parentis, high student attrition, the protection of incompetence by tenure and academic freedom, curricula which can sometimes be added to but sel-

> dom subtracted from and almost never reconstructed, ivory-tower detachment from the surrounding society (Egerton, 1969, p. 96).

Egerton pointed out the unpreparedness of colleges and universities to adapt to the needs of a variety of types of students. These institutions by their very nature, tend to be very slow to change. Egerton concluded that a few of the institutions he studied had demonstrated "either the skill or the determination to educate students who differ markedly from the middle class whi e students they were accustomed to having." (Egerton, 1969, p. 94).

The concept of universal opportunity for higher education has been enthusiastically espoused for many years, and yet universities have, in most instances, been remiss in their efforts to bring this ideal to reality. (Braskamp and Brown, 1972, p. 51). Since the universities and colleges have been reluctant to become more flexible and responsive to the needs of a variety of students by adjusting their policies and culture, black students have had to become catalytic agents of change.

The efforts of black students to open up the bureaucratic systems resulted in programs of open enrollment, compensatory education, supportive services, and curricula changes. Crossland points

out that,

> Institutions of higher learning will continue to change rapidly. Reforms initiated in the last five years are only beginning to gain momentum, and further changes in administration, pedagogy, curriculum, and institutional purpose seem inevitable. It is likely that the net result of these changes will be to make colleges and universities more flexible and more hospitable to minority students. (Crossland, 1971, p. 107).

In spite of this movement toward change and flexibility within the institution, there's been very little progress toward using limited resources more efficiently and cooperatively to solve some of the problems of black students.

Colleges and universities often function in an independent and competitive manner that serves as a barrier to the smooth progression of students from two- to four-year institutions and to transfer between institutions within the same system.

The indifference and resistance of these institutions has created anger and frustration among black students. The result has often been the flair-up of open conflict between the institution--its personnel and policies--and black students. These conflicts greatly impede the retention and academic progress of black students. Therefore, it is imperative for the institutions to develop mechanisms for reduction of racial conflict. Institutional indifference and resistance must give way to more open and responsive systems within the institution.

Problems Related to the Relevance of the Curriculum

As higher education institutions began to open their admissions procedures to provide access to black students, they acquired a number of problems related to the type of curriculum and culture being offered. The increased numbers of black students resulted in a thrust by Blacks for the institutions to respond to black student needs. Since the university has been slow to adjust its policies and culture to the basic needs of all students, Blacks were forced to establish their own culture and to exert pressure for change upon the university (Harper, 1971, p. 258). Horowitz (1970) indicates that, during the academic year 1968-69, the black students became the shock troops on campuses for the establishment of precedents and for affecting the whole nature of the curriculum as well as the distribution of power within the university.

The goals and strategies that black students adopt are dependent to a large extent upon the responsiveness of the institution. The demands for black studies and for black faculty are efforts to get the institutions to recognize black needs and to validate the black presence on campus.

Many black students feel that the absence of Blacks and black experiences in the contents of general courses is detrimental to their self-esteem. Black students express a real concern

about the possibility of becoming "whitewashed" by the constant bombardment of course work taught from the white perspective. Blacks know that it is important to develop a sense of significance of themselves as a people with a unique heritage if they are to survive in a hostile white world. Thus, the criteria of relevance generally applied by black students to classes is one of whether or not the contents provide knowledge and skills useful to black people. In the early stages of the development of Black Studies, black students tended to narrowly define that which was "useful". The tendency at that time was to condemn all but courses on the black experience as irrelevant. However, recently we have seen the criteria of relevance expanded to include course work that provides knowledge and skills which contribute to the growth and development of black communities. That is, black students are beginning to see increased relevance in studying business, economics, engineering, sciences and other courses. As curriculum changes take place to include Blacks and black experiences in non-Black Studies courses, the retention and academic progress problems related to the relevance of the curriculum will decrease.

Problems Related to Institional Racism

The growing aspirations among Blacks for a college education have been thwarted to a greater degree by racism than by any other institutional barrier. While forms of individual and overt racism within colleges and universities have an impact on black students, it is the institutional racism in its covert form that serves as the greatest threat to the retention and academic progress of black students.

The racist nature of our society in general, and educational institutions in particular, has been well documented by numerous studies including the Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (1968). The work of Knowles and Prewitt (1969) support the thesis that institutions have great power to reward and penalize and that these rewards and penalties are often distributed on the basis of race.

Racist attitudes and practices are learned behavior, and as such, are transmitted through education by parents, peers, and the educational institutions in our society. According to Jones (1972), the educational system in the United States has become the most important institution in the society. The skills and values which this society rewards are instilled in children during their formative years in educational institutions. Be-

cause of this, education has always been bound closely to racism in this country. Knowles and Prewitt point out that the educational system has become a major pillar of racism precisely because education has become important in our society as the ladder to social mobility.

Racism in the elementary and secondary education system has seriously impaired access to higher education for Blacks. The Report of the President's Commission on Campus Unrest (1970) explains that..."despite the nation's growing commitment to universal access to college education, and the openness of the American system of higher education, the socioeconomic status of inferior schooling of America's Blacks have prevented many Blacks from attending college. As in other areas of American life, the status of Blacks in higher education remains one of inequity and disprivilege." (President's Commission on Campus Unrest, 1970, p. 105)

The institutional racism that seriously limits the acquisition of academic experiences and skills in elementary and secondary schools is also operative in the academic processes in higher education. Racist attitudes and the low expectations of faculty, staff and administrators undermine the self-concept and academic achievements of black college students. Oliver states that for many black students the college or university represents a "white

racist" institution whose real function is the "destruction of the black mind" (Oliver, 1971, p. 365). This perception of the college or university as a racist institution often contributes to the frustrations and disillusionment of black students and may lead to their dropping out of college. The racist nature of the institution functions as an important threat to the retention and academic progress of black students.

Problems Created by Staff, Faculty, and Administrators

The problems created by staff, faculty and administrators are, in part, problems of individual racism - covert and overt. It is difficult to separate the impact upon black students of individual racism from institutional racism. However, one cannot discuss the problems created by academic personnel without clearly establishing this major problem of individual racism.

Many of the staff, faculty and administrators have very little understanding of Blacks - their problems, their experiences, and their culture. The academic personnel and the black students are often from different socioeconomic backgrounds and different generations. Generally, they bring to the university perceptions which are very much at odds (Harper, 1971). Whites, too, readily assume that Blacks on white college campuses are

there to learn how to succeed in a white world. Presumptions of this kind lead to faulty conclusions and impair the understanding and communication processes between the two groups.

As black students push for programs that meed their needs, they are often faced with resistance and hostility by academic personnel who see the black requests as threats to their power and authority. According to Braskamp and Brown:

> On many campuses mistrust prevails between the Blacks who have worked hard to get a program initiated and the white administrators who have the formal power. Blacks think that administrators find innovations threatening and, thus changes will sometimes be inhibited by people in authority. The university community considers ties with the bureaucratic structure of the traditional university necessary for any new program, while Blacks want autonomy as well as power (Braskamp and Brown, 1972, p. 53).

These conflicts create negative attitudes on the part of black students toward the institution and its academic personnel. Willie and McCord state that there is a growing "confidence gap" between the races on college campuses. They indicate that it seems to be widening year by year as the races come into closer association with each other. As interaction between the races increases, trust and confidence between races appears to decrease. Willie and McCord hypothesize that, perhaps, increased interactions cancel all illusions of justice and fair play and have revealed the

racist orientations of many Whites (Willie and McCord, 1972, p. 10).

It appears that in many instances the relationship of black students to academic personnel is at best a fragile and unstable one, and at worse, one of open conflict and hostility. Thus, the problems of retention and academic progress of black students cannot be solved without fundamental changes in the manner in which academic personnel relate to them.

Problems of the Relationship of Black Students with other Groups of Students

The efforts of Blacks to satisfy their needs for belongingness and self-actualization have motivated them to attempt to participate in extra-curricular activities. Even in the colleges and universities that recruit Blacks into student activities, they frequently experience covert racism in the forms of paternalism and condescending behavior. White students want Blacks to participate in extra-curricular activities but seldom do they want to share the decision-making positions in student government. Subtle, and not so subtle, statements by Whites convey messages of superiority attitudes which directly affect the self-esteem and psychological health of already overly sensitive black students.

Not finding solace and security in white groups, Willie and McCord (1972) point out that Blacks increasingly turn to Blacks for the support they need. They justify withdrawal from Whites for three reasons:

1. Withdrawal protects them from daily exposure to "subtle" or blatant racism.
2. Association with black people is more comfortable.
3. Withdrawal allows Blacks to be able to deal intensively with issues relevant to Blacks without "getting hung up worrying about educating Whites."

Black withdrawal or separation must be understood in terms of alienation that comes as a result of racism. The rejection and hostilities of Whites move students toward all black groups. As a result, on many campuses, Blacks identify more with race than with their respective universities. For example, they may feel a closer identity with the Black Students' Union than with the Student Government Association or any other student group (Harper, 1971, p. 257).

The unwillingness of white students to share power and decision-making with black students also applies to Chicano students. As a result, both white student groups and the the white administration have set in motion processes that pit the Chicano students against the black students for the token positions and benefits Whites are willing, or forced, to give up. Consequently, the black is confronted with not only hostility and re-

jection by Whites, but competition and distrust by Chicano students. The effect is to set the Chicano students against the black students as a strategy for reducing the black threat to the power of the white students.

The relationship of black students with other groups of students vary from campus to campus. On some campuses there is a fairly high degree of black participation in student activities and interracial social interaction. On other campuses there is strong polarization of Blacks and Whites. It is important to note that the degree of interaction or polarization appears to be in direct ratio to the degree of acceptance by Whites of Blacks in their activities.

The problems of retention and academic progress are many and complex. Whether they have their origin in the individual or the nature of the institution, they serve as serious threats to the survival of black students on college campuses.

Proposals to Facilitate the Retention and Progress of Black Students

Many of these proposals have been suggested before or have been implemented on some college campuses. The fragmented data tends to indicate that the special programs to facilitate the retention of high-risk students have some degree of success. The primary recommendation of this report is

that these programs be better organized and administered and that they serve clearer goals. Coordination and innovative implementation appear to be the crucial need areas. Therefore, we recommend that student retention programs be given top priority in the Master Plan and that priority may best be indicated by the creation of a new academic position, Dean of Student Supportive Services. The Dean would have the primary responsibility for the design, organization, implementation, and administration of all programs related to access and retention of high-risk students. These programs may be divided into three major sections: (1) access and admission, (2) supportive services for personal and psychological needs, and (3) supportive services for academic needs.

The recommendations for the programs related to access and admissions are contained in the chapter on this subject. It is recommended that the supportive services for personal and psychological needs must include: (1) increased financial assistance, (2) improved professional counseling, peer counseling, and group sessions, (3) effective assistance with housing needs, and (4) greater opportunities to satisfy social and cultural needs. While some campuses provide some or all of these services, the problem lies in their effectiveness. Many of these services need evaluation and re-orientation

from white to black perspectives; that is, the utilization of strategies and processes that are meaningful and effective with Blacks.

The supportive services for academic needs must include: (1) improved professional and peer program counseling, (2) emphasis on academic skills development within Black Studies classes, (3) greater flexibility in curriculum and required course designations, (4) greater flexibility in the bureaucratic hierarchy and procedures of the institution, (5) establishment of consortia or cluster efforts to facilitate articulation and transfer of students from one institution to another, and finally, (6) the eradication of racism from institutions of higher education.

In order to eliminate or greatly reduce the problems of retention and academic progress of black students, institutions are going to have to make firm commitments and concerted efforts to establish both the programs and the financial support of the programs suggested above. It is no longer appropriate or acceptable for institutions to state that they are making every effort to recruit and retain black students. Blacks no longer trust Whites' "good intentions", for they are fully aware of the strategies being employed. If the American society is ever to fulfill its stated

commitment to universal access to college education and an open system of higher education, then it must seriously analyze the problems faced by black students in institutions of higher education and then design strategies and programs for the elimination of these problems. The waste of human resources in the current system is a luxury that our nation can ill afford.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOOKS

Egerton, J. Higher Education for "High-Risk" Students. Atlanta: Southern Education Foundation, 1968.

Egerton, J. State Universities and Black Americans. Atlanta: Southern Education Reporting Service, 1961.

Gordon, E. "Toward Defining Equality of Educational Opportunity" On Equality of Educational Opportunity. Edited by F. Mosteller and D. P. Moynihan. N.Y. Random House, 1972.

Henry, O. "A Negro Student's Observations on Blacks." The University Crisis Reader: The Liberal University Under Attack, Vol. I. Edited by Wallerstein and P. Starr. New York: Random House, 1971.

Horowitz, I. and Friedland, W. The Knowledge Factory: Student Power and Academic Politics in America. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1970.

Jones, J.M. Prejudice and Racism. Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley Publishing, 1972.

Knowles, L. and Prewitt, K. Institutional Racism in America. Englewood Cliffs: N.J. Prentice Hall, Inc. 1969.

The President's Commission on Campus Unrest. The Report of the President's Commission on Campus Unrest. New York: Arno Press, 1970.

Willie, C.V. and McCord, A.S. Black Students at White Colleges. New York: Praeger, 1972.

PERIODICALS

Aspy, D. N. "Better Self Concepts Through Success." The Journal of Negro Education, 1971, XL (4), 369-372.

Borland, M. and Yett, D. "The Cash Value of College for Negroes and for Whites." Trans-Action 1967, 5 (1), 44-49

PERIODICALS

Braskamp, L. and Brown, R. D. "Evaluation of Programs for Blacks." Educational Record, 1972, 53(1), 51-58.

Coffin, B. S., Dietz, S. C., and Thompson, Charles. "Academic Achievement in a Poverty Area High School; Implications for Counseling." The Journal of Negro Education, 1971, XL (4), 365-368.

Dyson, E. "Study of Ability Grouping and the Self-Concept." Journal of Educational Research, 1967, LX (1), 403-5.

Fink, M. B. "Self-Concept as it Relates to Academic Underachievement." California Journal of Educational Research, 1969, XII (2), 57-62.

Muehl, S. and Muehl, L. "A College-level Compensatory Program for Educationally Disadvantaged Black Students; interim findings and reflections." The Journal of Negro Education, 1972, XLI (1), 65-8.

REPORTS

Carnegie Commission on Higher Education. A Chance to Learn: An Action Agenda for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education, March, 1970.

Coordinating Council for Higher Education. Educational Opportunity Programs 1969-70, California, April, 1971.

National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. U.S. Riot Commission Report. New York: Bantam Books, 1968.

Newman, et al. Report on Higher Education. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971.

Willingham, W. The No. 2 Access Problem: Transfer to the Upper Division. Washington D. C., American Association for Higher Education, July, 1972.

THE PARTICIPATION OF BLACKS IN GRADUATE EDUCATION IN CALIFORNIA

Graduate and professional education, that level of university training which supplies the state's professionals and specialists, constitute the final stage of formal education for many gifted men and women. The following chapter highlights the issues, status, and direction of post-bachelor training with respect to California's black community.

Introduction

Frederick Douglass once said, "I have found that to make a contented slave, it is necessary to make a thoughtless one."* Believing this, for centuries Blacks have viewed education as an important part of the means to freedom - equitable political, economic and cultural power - in this society. Proof of this can be found in the great sacrifices made, as well as the enormous risks taken by the black community throughout the years in pursuit of education for its members. Yet, black people still are not free. A great deal of the blame for this continued enslavement has to be attributed to the public school system's failure to educate Blacks.

---

*Frederick Douglass, excerpts from: Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass in C. T. Davis D. Walden, On Being Black (New York: Fawcett Publications, Inc., 1970), p. 52.

In this regard, California's record on the graduate level conforms to the rule rather than makes the exception.

Much has been written about the fact that the educational system has left the majority of black youth without competence in basic skills; that is, it has sub-educated them. Until recently, however, little has been written on another aspect of the school system's failure to educate Blacks which Carter G. Woodson eloquently addressed in his book, Mis-education of the Negro, more than thirty years ago. In addition to not acquiring skills for individual progress, Blacks were also not being educated for their reality, with skills that could contribute to the groups's survival and well-being. This becomes important because the graduate education experience for Blacks in California is one of both "mis-education" and "sub-education".

Graduate education trains people to hold key decision-making, interpretive and norm-setting positions in a society. Graduate and professional training thus hold more significance for black people than for those of the majority population in terms of helping their community improve itself and share in the wide range of resources available to most Americans. Failure to provide adequate graduate education for Blacks has many regrettable effects.

The 1968 Kerner Commission report underlined this need for more professionals to serve the black community. That report showed that, as of 1965, "mortality rates for non-white mothers were four times as high as those for white mothers...84 non-white and 21 white mothers died per 100,000 live births. Mortality rates among non-white babies are 58 percent higher than among Whites for those under one month old, and almost three times as high among those from one month to one year old."* The ratio of black doctors to black patients is far lower than the national average. Hospitals which serve black communities are notoriously understaffed and underequipped.

Another problem area underlined was education. Education is failing most black children. What Woodson found is still true today. They are not being taught the basic skills of "reading, writing, and arithmetric," let along about their culture and the world as it exists for them. For instance, there is only one predominantly black school district in California reading at grade level - that is Ravenswood in East Palo Alto, a predominantly black-administered district.

While studies disagree on some issues, they all agree that children learn best in a supportive atmosphere from teachers who are familiar with or

*Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (New York: Bantam Books, 1968), p. 270.

share their background, and care intimately about their success. Given the failure of the public system to educate Blacks and the necessity of these conditions for effective learning, two needs are identified: (1) teachers who can teach black children in their schools and (2) more research concerning the education of Blacks.

We, thus, see that it is particularly important to include Blacks at the graduate level and provide them with programs designed to train professionals, both scholars and practitioners, who will work in and with the black communities from which they come. Through the years, many Blacks have turned their energies toward filling this gap in professional service to the black community. Many of those who escape the sub-education problem are still unable to acquire the necessary professional training to perform the much needed services for their community. Ironically, much of this waste of black talent and dedication has come about because of an unresponsive system, not through any fault of their own. They have been the victims of admissions committees, financial aid withdrawals, and uninterested advisors. Meanwhile, black communities are left without the skills necessary for their development.

BLACK GRADUATE AND PROFESSIONAL SCHOOL STUDENTS

Some black people are admitted to graduate and professional training, but the number is by no means large enough. There are several factors which account for this.

Relevance of the Ph.D. Overproduction Thesis

The current thesis concerning graduate education is that there is an overproduction of Ph.D.'s. Most of the concern over the surplus of Ph.D.'s is based on a comparison of anticipated growth in graduate education with anticipated growth in college enrollment. Allan Cartter, former chancellor of New York University, has estimated that the nation's graduate schools will be producing at least 50,000 Ph.D.'s annually by 1980 if the present rate of increase continues. This estimate is a vast increase over the 1968-69 figure of 26,100. At the same time, many observers predict a decline in college enrollment because the rate of growth in the age group between 18 and 21 will greatly decrease. While the percentage of high school graduates continuing into college rose 17% from 1955 to 1970, Cartter points out that the increase, too, must slow down as it approaches 100% of all high school graduates.

If we look at the production of black Ph.D.'s, however, the picture is quite different. A recent

Ford Foundation study (A Survey of Black American Doctorates, Ford Foundation, 1970) showed that less than 1% of American Ph.D.'s were black men and women. Despite the increasing enrollment of Blacks in undergraduate programs* (an estimated 85% in the last five years; black undergraduate enrollment is now estimated at 6.2% of the total), a comparable increase at the Ph.D. ranks is not expected in the near future. According to the recent survey of Ph.D.'s awarded by 63 graduate schools from 1964 to 1968, only 294 or 0.8% of the 37,456 degrees were received by black Americans. If this is representative of the Ph.D.'s granted throughout the country, the annual number of new black Ph.D.'s would have to be multiplied by 15 in order to reach 11.5%, the estimated ratio of black Americans in the general population. The paucity of black professionals on university campuses belies the argument of a black Ph.D. overproduction. In a yet unpublished survey, Educational Testing Service confirms that few major universities have developed commitment or programs to increase black graduate enrollment. Few new black Ph.D.'s have been produced; successes of programs have not been evaluated; commitment to increase the numbers of black

*Much of that increase is at the community college level, where Blacks are commonly led to terminal two-year programs.

Ph.D.'s comes from a number of fairly exclusive and expensive schools; and current cut-backs and withdrawal of fellowship support by federal and state gove- ents threaten the modest gains of the past years. It is clear that the need and the or black professionals and Ph.D's has in- rather than decreased. Current fiscal seriously retard, rather than foster edu- and social progress for the California munity.

Statistics

The most reliable statistics on graduate enrollment come from the U.S. Office of Education in its semi-annual assessment of education for minority students. It shows that 10.5% of all black graduate students study in California. This state is topped only by Washington, D.C., as a center of graduate study for Blacks. Such prominence points to the importance of this state as a resource for black graduate education and the subsequent importance as a model for the rest of the nation.

While 10.5% of all black graduate students study in California, those 2,031 students represent only .37% of all graduate students nationally. This figure represents 2.82% of all graduate students in California.

Of the 2,031 black graduate students, 469 or 23% are enrolled in private colleges and univer-

sities. The overwhelming majority of 1,562 or 77% are enrolled in public institutions. Since the private sector is more costly to the student, the state has assumed - as with non-minority students - the major role in graduate education.

The University of California and California State University and Colleges.

While the University of California and the California State University and Colleges together enroll 77% of all black graduate students, U. C. enrolls 1,065 or 68.2%. The California State University and Colleges enrolls 31.8% of the black graduate students, almost all in master's programs.

We conclude that California has a major national role in the education of black graduate students. Given that leadership position, the state must carefully scrutinize its policies and their implications for the statewide and nationwide black community.

The Student's Experience

Increasing the number of Blacks admitted to graduate and professional schools, however, does not provide a full answer to the dilemma.

BLACK ENROLLMENT IN CALIFORNIA
GRADUATE AND PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS

	Number of Students	Percentage
Public Institutions	1562	(77.0)
Private Colleges and Universities	469	(23.0)
TOTAL	2031	(100.0)

BLACK ENROLLMENT IN PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS

	Number of Students	Percentage
University of California	1065	(68.2)
California State University & Colleges	497	(31.8)
TOTAL	1562	(100.0)

PERCENTAGE OF BLACK GRADUATE STUDENTS
IN CALIFORNIA UNIVERSITIES

	Number of Students	Percentage of Total
Black Students	2031	(2.82)
Other Minority	4655	(6.46)
Total Graduate Student Enrollment	71,950	

HEW 1970 Data

PERCENTAGE OF 19,254 BLACK GRADUATE STUDENTS BY STATE

(1970)

State	Percentage of Black Graduate Students	Percentage of All Graduate Students
Washington, D.C.	11.5	(.41)
California	10.5	(.37)
Michigan	8.7	(.30)
New York	8.5	(.30)
Illinois	7.0	(.25)
Georgia	6.4	(.22)
Ohio	5.3	(.18)
Massachusetts	4.9	(.17)
Alabama	4.8	(.17)
Tennessee	3.7	(.13)
	71.3	(2.5)

Financial Aid

Black students generally come to graduate schools with similar financial histories: considerable indebtedness to previously attended colleges and universities and to commercial lending agencies; financial obligations which extend beyond their immediate families, such that mothers or brothers and sisters depend on some portion of the student's resources; an inability to look to family resources for any aid; and a pressure to drop out of school and work after completion of the bachelor's degree. Finances are, thus, one of the black graduate student's greatest concerns.

Many graduate schools provide inadequate financial aid to all their students. Given the financial histories of most black students, this practice unduly increases the hardship of pursuing graduate education. Applicants are often attracted to universities for one year with funding and no guarantee that funding will continue after both the student and the university have made investments of time and money. Students are sometimes told when admitted that if they can fund themselves the first year, some kind of funds will be found in subsequent years. Such a probability, however, is not a guarantee and universities are not bound by any commitment. Black students often cannot afford to take that chance.

For those who do come, some schools' financial aid policies encourage them not to return to their communities following completion of their education. For example, many of state's medical schools require students to take out large loans before they can be granted any other aid, often offering only loan aid. The schools assume that as doctors they will make a great deal of money and will be easily able to afford the repayment of such loans. But what of the black doctor who is committed to provide good but low-cost medical service to the poor black community? Will he be able to repay such loans while providing low-cost care and bearing the operating expenses any doctor (particularly a beginning one) must bear? It is highly unlikely. By ignoring the special needs of our large minority communities, the pressure is increased upon the few black doctors who are being produced to reject the idea of returning to their communities to offer their much-needed services.

Academic Skills

Exploitation is another problem faced by the black graduate student. While all graduate students are subject to practices and conditions which can be thought of as exploitive. Blacks are more seriously affected by these situations. The non-minority graduate student often has one redeeming factor in his behalf: the research on which he is

working, while perhaps not of his own design, is applicable to his future career. For the black student this is not so. Not only may the research be inapplicable to his future work with the black community, but worse, it may be diametrically opposed to what he sees as being in the best interests of that community.

Pushed by his extra need for financial support, two situations develop. First, the black graduate student does not have the luxury of refusing university assistantships, a common means of support, simply because such assistantships have little bearing on his future or they offend his fundamental beliefs. Thus, they not only compromise the student's integrity for money, but also deny him the relevant intellectual experience one is supposed to receive from such assistantships. Second, black students often have to assume extra jobs in order to meet their financial obligations, which can only slow down their progress toward completion of the degree.

Because many of the issues, much of the literature, and most programs relating to black Americans are embryonic in terms of their development in white institutions. Black graduate students must be involved in their development and execution. Such a situation is a tremendous burden on

students who should be learning from our faculties rather than teaching them. This is another clear impediment to degree completion.

There is also the problem of exclusion. Blacks are often asked to provide much needed insight for their instructors. Yet, at key moments their expertise is not acknowledged. They are often not told of special programs or assistantships which might ease financial strain so they can devote more time to academic responsibilities. There is reason to believe that Blacks are only sought when a token one is needed to make a project "valid". This is symptomatic of another flaw in the training offered the black student. Not as much interest is taken on the part of faculty in developing the black student's career as in that of his white counterpart's - particularly if the black student indicates that his main professional concern is the black community.

There is also a lack of relevant classroom training for students preparing to work with black communities. The result of this inadequacy is miseducation for those students and less effective and competent professionals for the black community. One example of this is in the field of humanities. Many of the instructors of black humanities students know practically nothing of the humanistic traditions throughout the African diaspora.

Yet another example of this lack of relevant classroom training characteristic of programs is the professional field of education. Many schools of education commonly emphasize how to administer the present school system, perhaps with a few minor changes. They discuss, for example, how to sway the standard educationally well-served white middle class community to accept such "changes" as modular scheduling or having elementary school children change classes instead of staying with one teacher all day. But what of the black future professional who wishes to work with a population that is severely disaffected from the public school system - because that system has substantially failed it? He needs training that will help him produce massive changes in the present system as it affects his constituency and to innovate in the areas of school administration and the community's relationship to the school. As things presently stand, his needs are not being met.

THE COMMUNITY AS A LABORATORY

The people in black communities in California commonly have been used as respondents for social scientists' questionnaires or subjects for their educational research. Universities on the whole, however, are hard put to show where such academic activity has been of direct usefulness or benefit

to those communities. Black communities, thus, have been subsidizing white professional training through their taxes. It seems only fair that the state now do more to subsidize training of professionals for those same communities.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. We recommend a major study of graduate education as it pertains to Blacks in California.

   Such a study should include the major issues of graduate education as they relate to California and black communities, the educational record in terms of enrollment and numbers and percentages of professionals graduated, the variants in fields, the costs incurred in graduate education and financial aid available, the community expectations of the state and its educational system with regard to its needs, and the fiscal implications with respect to dependent communities becoming independent, and recommendations to the Legislature.

2. Expansion of the Graduate Fellowship Program.

   The Graduate Fellowship Program should be expanded to include financial need as a criterion for aid. As presently constituted, it relies on academic merit as the primary criterion for state fellowship aid. Many capable

students are admitted to a wide variety of graduate schools within the state - schools with varying academic reputations. In many cases, students at these schools are in greater need because the schools are less able to support graduate students.

3. EOP-Type Program at the Graduate Level

There needs to be statewide effort at coordinating and expanding the limited number of programs to recruit and support black graduate students. The public sector of graduate education, unlike the private sector, has particular responsibility to all taxpayers. EOP-type programs have been responsive to the wide variety of economic communities within the state, all of whom share a tax burden for educating the young.

4. Research Money

The state should appropriate research funds for issues and research in areas particularly relevant to black and low-income communities in California. Research funds are dwindling at a dramatic rate nationally and particularly in Social Science areas where minority students tend to have greater concentrations than non-minority students.

5. Faculty Development

Given the lack of training in the areas of concern to black students, funds should be appropriated to encourage the hiring of black faculty who have competency in these much needed areas of study.

6. Post-Doctoral Fellowships

Given, as we have said, the embryonic stage of development most disciplines are in concerning application of general knowledge to the specific reality of black people, it is important that faculty - particularly junior faculty - be encouraged to develop courses that use the information that is known. Funds should be allocated for post-doctoral fellowships which would provide for the staff, materials, and interaction with black practitioners needed to generate such courses. This is an important step toward providing more meaningful classroom education for graduate and professional students who will work with and in black communities upon completion of their degrees.

PHILOSOPHICAL OVERVIEW

White Californians were stunned seven years ago--in 1965--when a violent outburst in Watts served notice upon the smug and complacent, the unconcerned and uninformed, that what seemed like a calm and contented black neighborhood was really a community where discontent smouldered under the surface. The state became aware of the fact that among the thousands of black Americans and their families who had streamed to the west coast during World War II, along with their white fellow citizens, were many who felt their hopes had been betrayed. The California social system had turned out to be one that provided them with substantially better housing than they would have found in the ghettos of the East and the Midwest, but had condemned them to chronic unemployment, economic exploitation by white merchants, inadequate public services and transportation facilities, and persistent police brutality. When the ghettos of Harlem, Rochester, and Philadelphia erupted in 1964 the nation was not surprised. The country was aware of the dimensions of black misery on the east coast, but neither the universities nor the journalists had prepared the public for what to expect in Watts. The inevitable post-mortem rituals of research provided convincing documentation of the fact that in the Los Angeles metropolitan area, and in the San

Francisco Bay area as well, black Americans had legitimate grievances. Research before, not after the event should have priority in the future. The tragedy of it all is that no substantial improvements have occurred during the past seven years for inner city populations. There are unfinished tasks to be dealt with during the seventies.

Californians congratulated themselves a few years after the Watts rebellion when the voters elected a black man as Superintendent of Public Instruction. They asked, "What other state has reached such a level of color-blindness as to entrust the education of all its children to a black public official?" This was, indeed, a significant event whose importance should not be underestimated in the struggle against derogatory stereotyping and for the evaluation of all human beings upon their individual merit. But it did not, and could not, redress the inequities impinging upon the black masses, just as the appointment of a black member of the Supreme Court or several board members of major corporations and university trustee boards does not. The American social order, during the seventies, will present a paradox in race relations symbolized by Watts, on one hand, and the election of the black Superintendent of Public Instruction, on the other. A considerable

amount of "integration" in the upper ranks of the occupational structure is likely to take place, but unless there is a basic mental reorientation among white Americans, accompanied by a serious commitment to grappling with institutional racism, unemployment will continue at a rate over twice that for Whites (with disaster proportions among youth); housing conditions will stagnate and deteriorate as residential segregation for most Blacks becomes more prevalent not less; ghetto schools, streets, and social services will be accorded lower and lower priority by surbanites who wield the power in metropolitan regions. Only a well-informed vigilant black public can set in motion the forces to reverse these trends.

The implications of this paradox for educational planning are obvious. As increasing numbers of highly competent black men and women move into occupational roles where their primary obligation is to a wider constituency than the handicapped and exploited black communities--and many will choose this option--the pool of available trained black men and women must be greatly expanded. Access channels must be opened widely so that M.A.'s, Ph.D.'s and graduates of professional and technical schools will increase by geometric progression over the next decade. Not to face this problem is to deprive black communities and the institutions

within them of the leadership they must have to cope effectively with their problems. Analysis of the paradox itself is necessary so that black graduate students may choose their options. Those who choose black community leadership must be provided with the type of advanced training, over and above skill acquisition, that will increase their knowledge of, and sensitivity to, the unique aspects of the "black experience" and the "black condition." For those who decide to assume "integrated" occupational roles, training must be provided in how they may "pay their dues" to the black community in other ways. They, themselves, will certainly wish to do this.

There is nothing new about black leaders accepting responsibility for the problems of the black community. This is one of the oldest traditions among Afro-Americans. The first generation of literate Blacks among the free Negroes were betrayed when the founding fathers in whom they had placed their trust reneged on the promises of the Declaration of Independence, recognized slavery in the Constitution and refused to accord free Negroes full citizenship. When "integration" proved to be an illusion, they supplied leadership in founding black institutions for the black communities already existing as urban ghettos--even then. They took ethnic pluralism for granted as did Anglo-Americans, Irish-Americans, German-

Americans, etc., and proceeded to organize such instruments of group cohesion and social action as the Free African Societies of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia between 1787 and 1810; the African Grove Theatre in New York (1787); the African Lodge of the Scottish Rite Masons in Boston (1787); First African Baptist Church of Savannah (1788); First African Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia (1809); the African Methodist Episcopal denomination (1816); the African Methodist Episcopal Zion denomination (1821); the First African Baptist Church of New Orleans (1826). Thrift, sobriety, self-help, and above all, education, were the values these pioneering leaders stressed. Most of them were self-educated, but by 1840, the first small group of college trained leaders had begun to appear.

Between 1800 and 1865, with few exceptions, black leaders rejected the attempts of their white "friends" from Thomas Jefferson to Abraham Lincoln, to persuade them to abandon the fight for black liberation in America and to emigrate to Africa or Haiti. Citing the unpaid labor invested in laying the foundations of this country since 1619 (as Lerone Bennett reminds us in the title of his book, "Before the Mayflower") and the blood spilled fighting in the American Revolution, they insisted that black men had "bought" a piece of this land and

would not abandon title to it. They supplied leadership to the anti-slavery movement, leading insurrections in the South (Denmark Vesey and Nat Turner), helping to mobilize public opinion in the North (Frederic Douglass and scores of others) and helping to run the Underground Railroad (notably Harriet Tubman). And black men were with John Brown at Harpers Ferry.

When the Civil War was over, this leadership group divided its efforts between political action in the coalition with both northern and southern Whites that laid the foundation for a new South during Reconstruction, and administration and teaching in the schools that burgeoned everywhere. The Freedmen's Bureau never ceased to marvel at the thirst for education that welled up among the ex-slaves. These black leaders were largely responsible for it. Betrayed again in 1877, this time by their northern white allies, black leaders once more gave priority to the self-help theme for which Booker T. Washington became the greatest spokesman. Dr. W. E. B. Dubois and the "Young Turks" in the North kept alive the spirit of protest while southern leaders concentrated upon mobilizing for survival in a regime that had fastened a system of debt-peonage and disenfranchisement upon them. By the time the United States entered World War I, a strong professional class

had emerged whose devotion to the service of their people has been praised in E. Franklin Frazier's Black Bourgeoisie. A rededication to this tradition of leadership must be at the center of any program for higher education among Afro-Americans.

Dr. DuBois wrote in 1903 that "the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line." It is still that in the seventies. Martin Luther King, highly trained in philosophy and theology, put his education at the service of black people during the "desegregation decade" (1955-1965). The task was to rip the hypocritical mask off the doctrine of "separate but equal" that the Supreme Court had handed down in 1896 and that always enforced the separateness but never paid any attention to the equality. Kings's SCLC, and the youth in SNCC and CORE led the black assault upon the caste system in the South and destroyed it once and for all. The Voter Registration Act of 1965 put the tools for effective power and substantial self-determination in black hands in the South. The way is now open to the growth of a society based upon cultural pluralism in that region.

The urban North gained little from the civil rights movement although it supported it loyally. The North was already "desegregated" by law

though not de facto. Black people had the vote. Malcolm X became spokesman for a philosophy to meet northern needs ("stop worrying about the residential desegregation that Whites obviously are not prepared to accept, and face the problems of building up the black communities now in existence.") He was murdered during the year of the Watts explosion. Two years later, Stokely Carmichael, who had also placed an excellent college education at the service of his people wrote a book, in collaboration with a professor of political science, Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America. Its message was: "Define yourselves for yourselves,"--"get yourselves together"--"make coalitions with Whites where necessary, but from strength"--take care of business." The President's Commission on Civil Disorders published its report the next year, said publicly for the first time precisely what had needed to be said - that white racism, not black incapacity, was responsible for all Watts and all the outbursts that followed the rebellion there, and that white emigrants had climbed to a privileged position in America by restricting the opportunity of Blacks. The Commission made the error, however, of saying that America faced the danger of splitting into two separate societies. It ignored the fact that the separate societies had

been in existence for over 300 years!

Early in the seventies, assessing the black experience since World War II, black leaders gave currency to a new slogan that expressed a philosophy for the seventies: "neither integration nor separation, but black liberation." The graduate students and professionally trained leaders of the future will give content in action to this orientation.

The black experience in America inevitably generates a critique of American values, a critique that reinforces the efforts of all people who want a government that actively works for social justice, business, institutions that subordinate profit-making to human welfare, and religious institutions that practice what they preach.

The seventies present a challenge to all Americans who profess a dedication to universal humanistic values and to the subordination of science, industry, military might, and governmental bureaucracies to the service of mankind - the overwhelming majority of which is, incidentally, non-white. Racists are trying to recapture the hard won positions in the fight against prejudice and discrimination by reviving pseudo-scientific doctrines that glorify "pigmentocracy" instead of democracy, that counterpose "skin worship" to the ideals of all the world religions.

The blatant anti-black sterotypes once propagated by the media are gone, but a subtle corruption of black talent, in the interests of profit, has become Hollywood policy. The crusade for equality is under attack by the proponents of benign neglect of the masses, and dedication to human rights is endangered by malign seduction of a favored few. Research, analysis, and policy planning for defending human rights and advancing black liberation during the seventies will require a constant output of black graduate students devoted to the preservation of basic values from subversion and to making new cultural contributions rooted in them.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Astin, A. W. Racial Consideration in Admissions. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1969.

Astin, H. S., et al. Higher Education and the Disadvantaged Student. Washington, D.C.: Human Service Press, 1972.

Barclay, Lawrence. Statement to Minority Consultants. New York: College Entrance Examination Board, Spring 1972.

Bayer, Alan E. and Boruch, Robert. The Black Student in American Colleges. Washington, D.C.; American Council on Education, 1969.

Bernstine, Blanche. Minority Access to Higher Education in New York City. New York: City Almanac, August 1972.

Cross, K. P. Access and Accommodation in Higher Education. The White House Conference on Youth, Center for Research & Development in Higher Education, 1971.

Crossland, F. E. Minority Access to College. New York: Schocken Books, 1971.

Egerton, J. Higher Education for "High Risk" Students. Atlanta: Southern Education Foundation, 1968.

Egerton, J. State Universities and Black Americans. Atlanta: Southern Education Reporting Service, 1969.

Gordon, E. "Toward Defining Equality of Educational Opportunity," On Equality of Educational Opportunity. Edited by F. Mosteller and D. P. Moynihan. New York: Random House, 1972.

Gordon, Edmun W. and Wilkerson, Doxey A. Compensatory Education for the Disadvantaged: Programs and Practices--Preschool through College

Henry, O. "A Negro Student's Observations on Blacks." The University Crisis Reader: The Liberal University Under Attack. Vol. I. Edited by Wallerstein and P. Starr. New York: Random House, 1971.

Horowitz, I. and Friedland, W. The Knowledge Factory: Student Power and Academic Politics in America. Chicago: Adline Publishing Co., 1970.

Jones, J. M. Prejudice and Racism. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing, 1972.

Knowles, L. and Prewitt, K. Institutional Racism in America. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969.

Willie, C. V. and McCord, A. S. Black Students at White Colleges. New York: Praeger, 1972.

Willingham, Warren W. Free Access to Higher Education. New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1970.

Willingham, Warren W. Admission of Minority Students in Midwestern Colleges, New York: College Entrance Examination Board, May 1970.

PERIODICALS

Aspy, D. N. "Better Self Concepts Through Success," The Journal of Negro Education, XL(4) (1971), 369-372.

Borland, M., and Yett, D. "The Cash Value of College for Negroes and for Whites." Trans-Action, 5(1) (1967), 44-49.

Braskamp, L., and Brown, R. D. "Evaluation of Programs for Blacks," Educational Record, 53(1) (1972), 51-58.

Coffin, B. S., Dietz, S. C., and Thompson, Charles. "Academic Achievement in a Poverty Area High School: Implications for Counseling," The Journal of Negro Education, XL(4) (1971), 365-368.

Dyson, E. "Study of Ability Grouping and the Self-Concept," Journal of Educational Research, LX(1) (1967), 403-5.

Fink, M. B. "Self-Concept as it Relates to Academic Underachievement," California Journal of Educational Research, XII(2) (1962), 57-62.

PERIODICALS (continued)

Muehl, S., and Muehl, L. "A College-level Compensatory Program for Educationally Disadvantaged Black Students: Interim Findings and Reflections," The Journal of Negro Education, XLI(1) (1972), 65-81.

REPORTS

College Entrance Examination Board. Barriers to Higher Education, A College Entrance Board Colloquium. New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1971.

Carnegie Commission on Higher Education. A Special Report and Recommendations. A Chance to Learn: An action Agenda for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education. New York: The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education.

Coordinating Council for Higher Education. Educational Opportunity Programs 1969-70. California: Coordinating Council for Higher Education, April, 1971.

Flaugher, Ronald. Project Access Research Report No. 2 Patterns of Test Performance by High School Students of Four Ethnic Identities. Princeton, New Jersey: Educational Testing Service, May, 1971.

Jefferson, Thomas. Fourth of July Speech. 1778.

National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. U.S. Riot Commission Report. New York: Bantam Books, 1968.

Newman, et al. Report on Higher Education. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971.

Office of Education. Report on Higher Education, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, March, 1971.

Rever, Philip P., ed., Open Admissions and Equal Access. The American College Testing Program, 1971.

REPORTS (continued)

The President's Commission on Campus Unrest. The Report of the President's Commission on Campus Unrest. New York: Arno Press, 1970.

Willingham, W. The No. 2 Access Problem: Transfer to the Upper Division. Washington, D.C.: American Association for Higher Education, July, 1972.